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JEWISH-ARABIC STUDIES

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I. SHIITIC ELEMENTS IN JEWISH SECTARIANISM.*

3. THE ONE TRUE PROPHET

THE doctrine which will now engage our attention has been of tremendous importance in the development of the religious thought of the East. It would widely exceed the scope of our present enquiry, were we to treat of this far-reaching as well as fascinating doctrine with any amount of detail. We must perforce limit ourselves to those aspects of it which afford points of contact with similar teachings within Judaism.

Perhaps we shall best illustrate the character and at the same time the inexhaustible vitality of this conception if we reproduce side by side its most ancient and its most modern formulation, widely removed from one another both in time and in space.

What is believed to be the oldest exposition of our doctrine is found in the so-called Pseudo-Clementine writings which were composed in Northern Syria in the second century of the Christian era.¹⁷¹ "The aim of mankind,

*Continued from New Series, vol. II, 481 ff.—The two preceding instalments of this article (New Series, I, 183 ff. and II, 481 ff.) are quoted as *Shiitic Elements* I and II.

¹⁷¹ On the Pseudo-Clementines see F. Ch. Baur, *Kirchengeschichte der*

according to the teaching of the Pseudo-Clementines, is the attainment of the Supreme Good, i. e. of the recognition of God. Man by reason of his sin is unable to attain this end by himself and he must therefore be aided by revelation which is transmitted through the True Prophet (*αληθής προφήτης*). *The True Prophet has not manifested himself in one, but in different persons and, changing names and appearances, traverses the different periods of the world's career till in his time he will be at rest. Just as the True Prophet returns as the same, so, too, the religion revealed by him is the same. There is no development but merely a constant repetition of the one and same religion. The primitive revelation in Adam, pure Mosaism and Christianity are in consequence identical.*"¹⁷²

And this is the formulation which the representatives of the modern Babis or, as they are now commonly called, the Bahais, give to this essential doctrine of their faith.¹⁷³

drei ersten Jahrhunderte (Tübingen 1863), 218 ff.; Harnack, *Dogmengeschichte*³, I, 294 ff., and Uhlhorn in *PRE*³, IV, 171 ff.

¹⁷² Uhlhorn's analysis *ibidem*.

¹⁷³ As Babism has been repeatedly referred to in this article and will even more largely be drawn upon in the following, a few words about the origin of this sect may be welcome to the reader. Mirzā 'Alī Mohammed, of Shirāz in Persia—subsequently called the Bāb (see presently)—manifested himself in his native town in the year 1260 of the Hegira (May 23, 1844), exactly a millennium after the birth of the Shiitic Mahdī Mohammed b. al-Ḥasan (above, note 62). At first he claimed to be merely the Bāb ("Gate," "Entrance"), i. e. the mediator and forerunner of the Mahdī, but afterwards he maintained to be himself not only the Mahdī but also a Divine incarnation. He was executed on July 9, 1850 and his followers the Babis were persecuted with indescribable cruelty by the Persian Government. The Bāb insisted, in accordance with the theory set forth in the text, that his mission was not final and that a Greater One (designated by him as *man yuzhiruhu 'llāhu* "He whom Allah shall manifest") would appear after him. The Bāb appointed as his successor, more correctly as his vice-gerent (*Khalīfa*, see later under No. 8), Subḥ-i-Ezel, but in 1868 Ezel's half-brother Bahā'ullāh revealed himself as the Greater One predicted by the Bāb. He was acknowledged by

"The object for which man exists is that he should know God. Now this is impossible by means of his unassisted reason. It is therefore necessary that prophets should be sent to instruct him concerning spiritual truths and to lay down ordinances for his guidance. From time to time therefore a prophet appears in the world. There is no disagreement between the prophets: all teach the same truth, but in such measure as men can receive it. One spirit indeed speaks through all the prophets."¹⁷⁴ *"The reality of God in them never varies; only the garment in which the Primal Reality is clothed is different, according to the time and place of their appearance and declaration to the world. One day it is the garment of Abraham, then Moses, then Jesus, then Bahā'ullāh. Knowledge of this oneness is true enlightenment."*¹⁷⁵

nearly all Babis who since then prefer to be called Bahais. Bahā'ullāh died in 1892 and was succeeded by his eldest son 'Abbās Effendi who still resides as the head of the sect in Acco. [Since the above was written, 'Abbās Effendi has come over to this country where, according to the newspapers, he resides in Montclair, N. J.] The spread of Babism has been astonishing and its adepts are recruited from all faiths and nationalities, both of Asia and Europe. Especially noteworthy is its propagation in this country where there are a number of well-organized Babi communities. A succinct and comprehensive presentation of Babism, together with a full bibliography, has been given by Edward G. Browne, in Hastings' *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, II, 299-308. A profound analysis of Babism will also be found in Goldziher's presentation of Islam in *Die Orientalischen Religionen*, Berlin and Leipzig 1906, p. 128 ff., and in his *Vorlesungen*, 295 ff. Further details will be touched upon in the course of this article.

¹⁷⁴ E. G. Browne, *A Year amongst the Persians*, London 1893, p. 302 f., from a conversation of the author with two representatives of Babism. See on the formulation of the same doctrine by the Bāb himself F. C. Andreas, *Die Babis in Persien*, p. 40 ff.

¹⁷⁵ Eric Hammond, *The Splendor of God*, being extracts from the Sacred Writings of the Bahais, with introduction, p. 15; see also p. 33. The author appears to be a convinced Bahai.

Between these two poles, represented, with certain modifications,¹⁷⁶ by the ancient Clementine dogma and the teachings of present day Babism, lie innumerable applications of the doctrine of the One True Prophet.

A striking formulation of this dogma which deserves our special attention is found in the teachings of Manichæism. Giving a nationalistic coloring to this essentially universalistic doctrine, Mānī declares: "Wisdom and deeds have always from time to time been brought to mankind by the messenger of God called Buddha to India, in another by Zoroaster in Persia, in another by Jesus in the West. Thereafter this revelation has come down, this prophecy in this last age, through me Mānī, the messenger of the God of Truth to Babylonia."¹⁷⁷

It was probably through the medium of Manichæism that this profound conception gained access into Mohammedanism. It has fundamentally affected the prophetology of orthodox Islam in which the belief in a series of dispen-

¹⁷⁶ According to the Clementines, there is a *final* manifestation in which the True Prophet will be "at rest." According to the Babis, the number of manifestations is unlimited: "there have been endless numbers of them in the past, as there will be in the future" (E. G. Browne, *JRAS.*, XXI (1889), 914). Again, according to the Clementine doctrine, all manifestations are identical; "there is no development but merely a constant repetition of the one and same religion" (comp. above), while, according to Babism, there is a constant upward development from manifestation to manifestation; "a new prophet is not sent until the development of the human race renders this necessary" (Browne, *A Year amongst the Persians*, 303). This difference is of far-reaching importance, but does not affect the particular phase discussed in the text.

¹⁷⁷ Bīrūnī, 207; Sachau's translation, 190. See also p. 192. The Babylonian particularism of the Manichæans is also evident from the fact that the head of the sect was obliged to reside in Babylonia, Flügel, *Mani*, 97 and 105.

sations,¹⁷⁸ the recognition of their transitory value,¹⁷⁹ and the admission at the same time of the prophetic, hence God-inspired, character of their representatives clearly point to this source. But it became of infinitely greater significance in heterodox Islam which is not only more generous in the recognition of the relative truth of the dispensations preceding Mohammed,¹⁸⁰ but, denying the fundamental Islamic dogma of the finality of his message,¹⁸¹ consistently admits of an endless chain of prophetic manifestations after him.¹⁸² In this form the conception of the One True Prophet has been in constant operation in Mohammedan sectarianism and has found expression in innumerable movements and doctrines.

¹⁷⁸ The five prophets who are believed to have appeared as founders of new religions before Mohammed are Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, and Jesus. These with Mohammed and the Mahdī who is to appear in fulness of time, make seven, see later.

¹⁷⁹ This is involved in the *nashh* doctrine, according to which the previous revelations have been abrogated and superseded by the Koran. Comp. Goldziher in *Orientalische Religionen*, 98.

¹⁸⁰ This applies particularly to Zoroaster. When asked by Professor Browne, whether Babism regarded Zoroaster as a prophet, one of the Babi preachers replied: "Assuredly" (*A Year amongst the Persians*, 327). "It is true," Professor Browne was told on another occasion, "we do recognize Zoroaster and others, whom the Musulmans reject, as prophets" (*l. c.*, 305). Ishāk "the Turk" declared that Abū Muslim was a prophet sent by Zoroaster and that Zoroaster was alive and had never died (Browne, *Persia*, 315). According to Ibn Ḥazm (d. 1064), many otherwise orthodox Mohammedans believed in the prophecy of Zoroaster (*Milāl wa'n-nihāl*, I, 113, 6).

¹⁸¹ Compare later p. 247 and 277 f.

¹⁸² Perhaps the most striking formulation of this doctrine of infinite manifestations is the one given by the Bāb (see note 173) in one of his epistles (Browne, *JRAS.*, 1892, 473): "In the time of Noah, I was Noah, in the time of Abraham Abraham, in the time of Moses Moses, in the time of Jesus Jesus, in the time of Muhammed Muhammed, in the time of 'Alī Muhammed (the name of the Bāb) 'Alī Muhammed (this is undoubtedly the meaning of *'Alī-ḥabla-nabīl*, *nabīl* being the numerical equivalent of *Muhammed*). In the time of "the Greater One to Come" I shall surely be "the

Looked at in this light, a fundamental doctrine of the Jewish sectarian Abū 'Īsa stands out in its full meaning and assumes wide historic significance.

Abū 'Īsa manifested himself in an age and in a land which were marked by the wide currency of the belief characterized above. He addressed himself exclusively to the Jews whom he endeavored to free from political oppression, and he retained all the fundamental tenets of Judaism. Yet, actuated by the conception which recognizes the relative truth of the various, yet identical, manifestations of the Divine, Abū 'Īsa, in a manner which vividly reminds us of the formulation of Mānī, *"acknowledged the prophecy of Jesus, the son of Mary, and the prophecy of the Master of the Muhammedans, contending that each of these two was sent to his own people. He advocated the study of the Gospels and of the Koran as well as the knowledge of their interpretation, and he maintained that the Muhammedans and Christians were both guided in their faith by what they possessed, just as the Jews were guided in their faith by what they possessed."*¹⁸³

This doctrine of Abū 'Īsa, recorded by Kīrkisānī, is fully confirmed by Ibn Ḥazm (d. 1064), who regards this

Greater One to Come," in the time of "the Greater One to Come Later" "the Greater One to Come Later," in the time of "the Greater One to Come still Later" "the Greater One to Come still Later" (etc.) until the end of Him who has no end, just as in the beginning of Him who has no beginning I was in every manifestation the proof of God towards his creatures."

¹⁸³ Kīrk. 312, 5: ואקד אבו עיסי בנבוה עיסי בן מרים ובנבוה צאחב אלמסלמין: וזעם אן כל ואחד מנהמה מבעות אלי קומה ואמר בקראה אלמנגיל ואלקראן ומערפה תפסירהמא וזעם אן אלמסלמין ואלנצארי קד תעבד כל אמה מנהמא במא פי אידיהם כמא תעבד אליהוד במא פי אידיהם.

theory of Abū 'Īsa as the corner stone of his teachings,¹⁸⁴ and is often referred to by other Mohammedan theologians who take great pains to refute this attempt of the 'Īsawiyya to limit the validity of Mohammed's message to the Arabic race.¹⁸⁵ If we are to believe Ibn Ḥazm,¹⁸⁶ Abū 'Īsa gave expression to his reverence for the founders of Christianity and Islam by calling himself Mohammed, the son of Jesus,¹⁸⁷ and went so far as to believe in the immaculate

¹⁸⁴ Ibn Ḥazm's report about Abū 'Īsa (*Milal wa'n-Nihāl*, I, 99) contains little else beyond a statement of the view mentioned in the text. Shahrastānī, on the other hand, who gives an elaborate *historical* account of Abū 'Īsa, leaves this particular doctrine unmentioned and attributes it to one of the subdivisions of the 'Īsawiyya (see later p. 243). Ibn Ḥazm's account has been reproduced in text and German translation by Poznański in *JQR.*, XVI, 765 ff. The 'Īsawiyya, according to Ibn Ḥazm, advanced the argument that Mohammed as the prophet of the Arabs occupied the same position and deserved the same recognition as Job, Bileam, and the other non-Israelitish prophets mentioned in the Bible, who were sent to their respective races. Ibn Ḥazm winds up his account by making the following interesting statement: "I have met many distinguished men among the Jews who hold the same doctrine" (see about this statement later, note 197).—Abū 'Īsa and the 'Īsawiyya are referred to incidentally in other passages of his *Milal*. Thus in one passage (I, 112, *penult.*, ff.) Abū 'Īsa is mentioned among Shītic and non-Mohammedan pseudo-prophets of whom miracles are reported, which miracles however, are worthless, "since miracles can only be relied upon when transmitted by multitudes." He refutes the 'Īsawiyya with the same arguments as Kīrkisānī (in the polemical chapters mentioned below, note 190), pointing out their inconsistency in accepting Mohammed as prophet and yet refusing to accept his claim that he was sent to the whole world (I, 114 f.). As one of the Jewish sects the 'Īsawiyya are briefly referred to I, 117, 16 and V, 122, 8.

¹⁸⁵ See Poznański, *JQR.*, XVI, 770 f. According to Baġdādī and Ibn Kaẓayim al-Jauziyya (Poznański, *ibidem*), Mohammed was believed to have been sent to the whole world, *except to the Jews and such nations as possess revealed writings*. See also later, note 194.

¹⁸⁶ *Milal*, I, 99.

¹⁸⁷ Comp. Poznański, *l. c.*, 770. I may mention in passing that the passage in Hirschfeld's *Arabic Chrestomathy*, objected to by Poznański, *ib.*, note 3, is confirmed by the MS. and that Jesus, and not Abū 'Īsa, is meant there.

conception of Christ.¹⁸⁸ Kırķisānī is inclined to ascribe the recognition of Christianity and Islam on the part of Abū 'Īsa to a selfish motive. For by acknowledging these two prophets outside of the canonical range of Jewish prophecy, he had, in the opinion of this author, greater chances of finding credence for his own prophetic pretensions.¹⁸⁹ But Kırķisānī can scarcely have taken his own explanation seriously. For his thorough and elaborate refutation of this view of Abū 'Īsa, to which he devotes two separate chapters in his work,¹⁹⁰ distinctly shows that this opinion was not the freakish fad of an irresponsible sectarian, but the settled conception of the age.¹⁹¹ As a matter of fact, this view which admits the relative truth of Christianity and Islam is found not only among the sects closely related to the Īsawiyya, such as the Ra'yāniyya,¹⁹² the Shārakāniyya (or

¹⁸⁸ *Mīlāl*, II, 12: "The 'Isawiyya from among the Jews agree with us, and so do the Aryūsiyya (Arians), the Bulķāniyya (Paulicians), and the Maķdūniyya (Macedonians) from among the Christians, that he (Jesus) was a human being, created by God in the womb of Mary without a male."

¹⁸⁹ Kırķ. 312, 9 ff. Elsewhere (Hirschfeld, *Arabic Chrestomathy*, 117, 1 ff.), Kırķisānī makes the same charge against Mohammed who pretended to believe in Jesus, so that his own claim as a prophet might not be denied, "in the same manner as mentioned by us of Abū 'Īsa al-Īṣfahānī."

¹⁹⁰ Chapter 13 and 14, MS. British Museum Or. 2524, fol. 33b-39b. The refutation of Islam and Christianity which follows immediately is only a part of his polemics against Abū 'Īsa who acknowledged Jesus and Mohammed.

¹⁹¹ This may also account for the answer of Jacob ben Ephraim (Kırķ., 312, 2 ff.) which so greatly shocked our author. To the Rabbanites of that period the Karaites who renewed the ancient vexatious contentions about the festivals seemed less sympathetic than the 'Īsūniyya, in spite of the fact that the latter "ascribed prophecy to those who did not possess it."

¹⁹² Baġdādī (ed. Mohammed Badr, p. 263, 13): "*al-'Isawiyya wa'r-Ra'yāniyya ... aķarru bi-nubuwwati Muḥammadin*" "The 'Isawiyya and the Ra'yāniyya...admit the prophecy of Muhammed." The Ra'yāniyya are probably identical with the Yūdgāniyya, see later.

Shādakāniyya)¹⁹³ and the Mushkāniyya¹⁹⁴ as well as the Karaitic faction of the Dusturians,¹⁹⁵ but it is also attributed to Anan,¹⁹⁶ and we have positive evidence that it was shared by representative and otherwise irreproachably orthodox Jews.¹⁹⁷

It is evident that a doctrine like this which regards all positive religions as nothing but transient forms of the same Divine truth, as different garments in which the Primal Reality clothes itself,¹⁹⁸ carries within it a spirit of tolerance which no religion, claiming to be the exclusive and

¹⁹³ Bagdādi 9, 14; comp. Schreiner in *REJ.*, XXIX, 211, and *Shiitic Elements*, I, 207, n. 92.

¹⁹⁴ Shahr., 169: "It is mentioned of a number among the Mushkāniyya (for variants see *Shiitic Elements*, I, 207, n. 93) that they firmly believe in the prophecy of the Chosen One (= Muhammed) for the Arabs and the rest of mankind, with the exception of the Jews, the latter being a people (forming) a religious community and (possessing) a revealed book" (MS. British Museum Add. 7250 omits *wa-kitābin*). See above, note 185.

¹⁹⁵ Kīrkisānī, MS. British Museum Or. 2524, fol. 35b: ופי אלדסתרין קום מן "Among the Dusturians there are people from among our adherents (i. e. Karaites) who agree with him (with Abū 'Isa) in this opinion to a certain extent."

¹⁹⁶ Grätz, V, 188, comp. Kīrk., 305, 2. Poznański, *REJ.*, LX, 308 f. doubts this generally accepted opinion. In view, however of the statements of Kīrkisānī as well as of Arabic authors, his doubts seem scarcely justifiable. Anan may have been a politician, but, considering the facts adduced above, it would be unfair to seek political reasons (Harkavy, *Studien und Mitteilungen*, VIII, 102, n. 39), or even more objectionable motives (Pinsker, לקוטי, p. 20; Weiss, *Dor dor we-dorshow*, IV, 51) for his advocating a conception, which was in his age widespread in the East. It was scarcely of immediate benefit in a Mohammedan state to recognize Jesus as prophet. Steinschneider's harsh judgment (*Polemische und apologetische Literatur*, 343 f.) is certainly not justified.

¹⁹⁷ Ibn Ḥazm, above note 184. In another passage, which seems to be missing in the printed edition, I. Ḥ. insinuates that the leading Jews were convinced of the truth of Mohammed's claim, but refused to admit it (Goldziher, Kobak's *Jeshurun*, VIII, 78). Ibn ʿAjjim al-Jauziyya (d. 1350) reports the same view of a distinguished Egyptian Jew, Goldziher, *l. c.*, IX, 22 f.

¹⁹⁸ Above, p. 237.

final manifestation of Divine truth, can afford to exhibit. For tolerance, as Carlyle put it, has to tolerate the *unessestial*. It is certainly not accidental that the rule of the Fatimidides, whose religion of state in the form of the Ismā'īliyya doctrine hinges on the dogma of the One True Prophet and whose political claims are entirely based on the theory of the periodic manifestations of the Deity, is characterized by unparalleled tolerance.¹⁹⁹ It is the immediate consequence of the same basic principle which explains the all-embracing spirit of tolerance in modern Bahaism, a doctrine which addresses itself alike to "Buddhist and Mohammedan, Hindu and Zoroastrian, Jew and Christian"²⁰⁰ and commands the Bahais to "associate with all the people of the world, with men of all religions, in concord and harmony, in the spirit of perfect joy and fragrance;"²⁰¹ for "intolerance is, in the rule of the Bahai, the one impossible word."²⁰²

From this tolerance towards other religions which, properly considered, removes the boundary lines between faith and faith, it is only one short step to the desertion of one's own religion. The scantiness of our sources does not enable us to determine whether the few apostasies related of early Jewish sectarians, such as the conversion to Christianity of Meswi al-'Okbarī,²⁰³ or the repeated changes of faith of David al-Muḡammaṣ²⁰⁴ are to be traced to this theory.²⁰⁵ But there is every reason for assuming that this

¹⁹⁹ Browne, Persia, 399, Dussaud, *Histoire et religion des Noṣeiris*, 49.

²⁰⁰ Hammond, The Splendor of God, 11.

²⁰¹ *L. c.*, 37.

²⁰² *L. c.*, 47.

²⁰³ Poznański in *REJ.*, XXXIV, p. 180.

²⁰⁴ *Ḳirk.*, 306; Harkavy's introduction, *ib.*, p. 260.

²⁰⁵ Ibn Ḥazm (d. 1064) quotes the view of one of his Jewish friends, the physician Ismā'il b. al-Ḳaddād (or al-Ḳarrād), who believed that all

doctrine was in operation in the case of Sabbathai Zevi and those that followed him. It is true, these sectarians were impostors and swindlers who were actuated not by dogmatic principles but by gross selfish motives. Yet, there is method in their charlatanism, and there is little doubt in my mind that when Sabbathai Zevi, faced by the punishment of the Turkish authorities, threw down his Jewish cap and exchanged it for the turban,²⁰⁶ the theory of the One True Prophet lingered in the back of his mind to allay his scruples. His adherents in any event were not slow in adducing philosophical reasons for this treacherous act of their prophet.²⁰⁷

But in its full and unrestricted operation our dogma may be seen in the case of Jacob Frank who raises the disloyalty towards one's religion to a full-fledged philosophic doctrine. To justify, whether in his own eyes or in those of his followers, his frequent changes of faith—he had changed his religion no less than five times—,²⁰⁸ this versatile scoundrel cleverly defends apostasy on philosophic grounds. "When people change their religion, it is only, as if one were pouring out oil from one vessel to another."²⁰⁹

religions were equally justifiable and that every man ought to adhere to his own ancestral faith. When entreated by our author to embrace Islam, he replied: "To change one's religion is to play comedy," or "he who leaves his own religion and embraces another, is impudent and plays comedy with (all) religions. He also disobeys God, who is worshiped by him by means of that religion," *Milal wa'n-nihal*, V, 120 and 121; comp. Schreiner in *ZDMG.*, XLII, 616 f., 657 f. It is not impossible that this belief in the relativity of all religions is a reflection of the doctrine mentioned in the text.

²⁰⁶ Grätz, X, 220.

²⁰⁷ Grätz, *l. c.*, 222 f., 230, 453, 457; קצור ציצת נובל, 32b, 38b, 41b. Sabbathai himself spoke openly of his conversion, Grätz, *l. c.*, 445.

²⁰⁸ פראנק וערתו, p. 252.

²⁰⁹ *Ib.*, 255.

"Know ye," declares Frank to his followers,²¹⁰ "that it is impossible for anyone to get to a new place, unless he has made a start, and this start is he who founded the religion of Islam. After him came the second who revealed to us the mystery of Baptism and to him we shall now revert." His innermost conviction, which was nothing but a thorough contempt for all positive religions, is betrayed in another utterance of his: "He who studies all the religions and systems and books that have been founded or written until this day, is like one who turns his face backwards and looks at things that are already dead."²¹¹ "Your old books and systems are bound to be shattered like vessels of clay."²¹²

4. SUCCESSIVE INCARNATION

The theory of the One True Prophet is logically inseparable from the doctrine of Successive Incarnation. At the bottom of both lies the fundamental Gnostic or rather Neo-Platonic conception that God, "the unoriginated, inconceivable Father," who is without material substance, is entirely unknowable and therefore can make himself known to man only by incarnation, by embodying himself in human form, i. e. in the prophets.²¹³ Thus the prophet or the Messiah, the "Christ," becomes the manifestation, and the only manifestation, of God on earth, a view which logically leads and has in the course of history actually led to the deification of the prophet. In conjunction with the theory of the One True Prophet, the doctrine of Incarnation is widened to that of *Successive Incarnation*, which teaches the *periodic* manifestation, or incarnation, of God in various ages in

²¹⁰ *Ib.* 101.

²¹¹ *Ib.*, 119.

²¹² *Ib.*, 122.

²¹³ Comp. Uhlhorn in *PRE.*,³ IV, 171; comp. also *Shiites*, II, 86, 4 ff.

different human personalities who, embodying, as they do, the same Divine substance, are, in reality, one: the One True Prophet.²¹⁴ As to the number and identity of the persons, in whom the Divine has thus been successively incarnated, a great deal of uncertainty seems to have prevailed from the very beginning. Thus in the Pseudo-Clementines the persons in whom the One True Prophet has revealed himself are specified in one place as Adam, Enoch, Noah, Abraham Isaac, Jacob, and Moses, in another as Adam, Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Christ, in both the number seven seems to be intended.²¹⁵ Later applications of this dogma show numerous variations, in accordance with local and historic requirements.

The theory of Successive Incarnation has had far-reaching consequences for the dogmatic development of Islam. It succeeded in forcing its way into orthodox Islam whose prophetology is profoundly affected by it,²¹⁶ but here it was checked in its course by the emphasis laid on the final character of Mohammed's prophetic message.²¹⁷ In heterodox Islam, however, in which this barrier was partly or completely removed,²¹⁸ the doctrine of Successive Incarnation has found an almost unlimited field of operation.

²¹⁴ Above, p. 236.

²¹⁵ *Shiites*, II, 85 f.

²¹⁶ See Goldziher's article "Neuplatonische und gnostische Elemente im Ḥadīṭ" in *ZA.*, XXII, 324 ff.

²¹⁷ The title "Seal of the Prophets" assumed by Mohammed (Koran 33, 40) is interpreted in this sense and is emphasized by the canonical ḥadīth which makes Mohammed declare "there is no prophet after me," comp. *Shiites*, I, 47, and II, 48. According to Bīrūnī, 207, already Mānī believed that he was "the Seal of the Prophets." According to Shahrastānī (I, 192), Mānī predicted that "the Seal of the Prophets" (i. e. Mohammed) would come to the Arabs. The latter is no doubt a clumsy Mohammedan fabrication.

²¹⁸ See above p. 239. In modern Babism the title "Seal of the Prophets," as applied to Mohammed, is interpreted as "the seal of the prophets who have

We can observe the march of this conception from the early development of Shiism down to the present day. The attempt has been made to find in the theory of Successive Incarnation the very germ of Shiism, by identifying it with the *Raj'a* doctrine enunciated by the founder of Shiism, 'Abdallah b. Saba.²¹⁹ This view can scarcely be upheld, for *Raj'a* in its original meaning excludes incarnation.²²⁰ But the doctrine of Successive Incarnation begins to appear in full-fledged size among the numerous Shiitic factions which sprang up in 'Irāk in the second century after Mohammed. Without making the slightest attempt at completeness, we may single out a few representatives of this doctrine within heretodox Islam. The sectarian Muğīra b. Sa'īd (d. 737) of Kufa, whose teachings betray throughout the profound influence of Gnostic ideas, taught "that the prophets never differed in anything concerning the laws."²²¹ His contemporary and townsman Abū Manşūr al-'Ijlī held similarly the belief in the uninterrupted succession of apostles,²²² or, as another report puts it, "that the apostles would never cease and the apostleship would never cease."²²³ 'Abdallah b. Mu'āwiya, the contemporary of Abū 'Īsa al-'Īṣfahānī, maintained that he was God and that the Divine Spirit manifested itself in Adam, then in Seth, then

gone before and the key of those who are to come," Browne, *A Year amongst the Persians*, p. 327 (I may mention in passing that the expression "key of prophecy" is applied to *Moses* by as-Su'ūdī, *Disputatio pro religione Mohammedanorum contra Christianos*, Leiden 1890, p. 189).—On this fundamental distinction between orthodox and heterodox Islam see Goldziher, *Vorlesungen*, 249 f.

²¹⁹ See *AbS.*, II, 11.

²²⁰ *Ibidem*. In the same manner *Raj'a* is to be distinguished from the Transmigration of Souls; below, note 283.

²²¹ *Shiites*, I, 60, 1.

²²² *L. c.*, I, 62, 13.

²²³ *L. c.*, II, 92, 5 ff.

it circled through the prophets and finally revealed itself in him.²²⁴ The famous rebel and Pseudo-Messiah Muḩanna' (d. 780) asserted in exactly the same manner that he was a Divine incarnation and that the Divine Spirit, after having manifested itself in Adam, Noah, Abraham, Mohammed, 'Alī, and others, finally settled in him.²²⁵ It is the same doctrine for which in a later century the celebrated mystic ḩusein b. Maṣṣūr al-ḩallāḩ, whose influence survived long after his death and penetrated beyond the boundaries of Islam,²²⁶ suffered martyrdom at the hands of the 'Abbasid government.²²⁷

The same theory of prophetic cycles, with a complicated and systematic elaboration of the various manifestations and their mode of succession, forms the basis of the Ismā'īliyya doctrine which, after tremendous upheavals, led to the establishment of the Fātimid dynasty and became the acknowledged religion of that powerful empire.²²⁸

It lies at the bottom of the doctrine of the ḩurūfī sect whose founder Fadlallāh of Astarabād in Persia maintained

²²⁴ *L. c.*, II, 45, n. 8.

²²⁵ *L. c.*, II, 120, 30 ff., Goldziher in *ZA.*, XXII, 337 ff. The number of manifestations specified by Muḩanna' (*ibidem*, 338, n. 4) amounts to seven.

²²⁶ Comp. *JQR.*, XIX, p. 92, n. 1 and *Shiites*, II, 115, n. 2.

²²⁷ *Shiites*, II, 114 f. and Browne, *Persia*, 428 ff. ḩallāḩ is addressed as "the eternal and luminous Creator who assumes human form in every age and period and in our own time has assumed the form of al-ḩusein b. Maṣṣūr (= ḩallāḩ)," *Birūnī*, 212, 1.

²²⁸ See the elaborate presentation of the Ismā'īliyya doctrine by Browne, *l. c.*, 405 ff., and Goldziher, *Vorlesungen*, 247 ff. For further literature see *Shiites*, II, 19, 27 ff. On the influence of these originally Neo-Platonic ideas on Judaism see Goldziher, *Kitāb ma'ānī al-naḩs*, p. 41 ff. On their effect on Judah Halevi see the same in *REJ.*, I, 32 ff. The doctrine quoted by Goldziher in *ZA.*, XXII, 329, n. 1, according to which the "Luminous Substance" was transferred from the forehead of Adam to that of Seth, then Enoch, etc., and through Ishmael to the ancestors of Mohammed, strikingly resembles even in its details Judah Halevi's theory of the מְגִלָּה.

that God manifested himself in him, "after having revealed himself in the person of Adam, Moses, Jesus, and Muham-med," and suffered martyrdom for his belief at the hands of Mirānshāh, the son of Timur, in 1393.²²⁹

The doctrine of Successive Incarnation is still widely represented among numerous sects in the East, such as the Yezidis, Druzes, Mutawile, and Nuṣeiriyya,²³⁰ but here, too, it has found its most perfect expression in the teachings of Babism or Bahaism. We have already referred to the cardinal importance which Bahaism attaches to the doctrine of the One True Prophet.²³¹ It is therefore with perfect consistency preached in Bahaism that "Adam, Noah, Moses, David, Jesus, and Muhammed, though in common parlance spoken of as being distinct, are yet but one, the Primal Will,"²³² and that it is therefore "correct to say that Moses is identical with Jesus, or Jesus with Muhammed."²³³ The Christian adepts of Bahaism have drawn the logical conclusion of this doctrine and consistently declare that the present head of the Bahais, 'Abbās Effendi, is a reincarnation of Christ.²³⁴

I believe it is not too far-fetched to find a reflection of this widespread idea in the abrupt notice of Shahrastānī²³⁵

²²⁹ *Textes Persans relatifs à la secte des Houroufis* (E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series, Vol. IX), p. xiii, xvii. See also *ibidem*, 30 ff.

²³⁰ Comp. Kremer, *Geschichte der herrschenden Ideen des Islams*, p. 13 f. On the older Shiitic representatives of this doctrine see *ib.*, p. 188 ff. See also Goldziher in *Orientalische Religionen*, p. 126 f.

²³¹ Above p. 236 f.

²³² E. G. Browne in *JRAS.*, XXI (1889), p. 914. The number of prophets enumerated there amount together with the Bāb to seven. In the passage quoted above in note 182 the number of manifestations including "the Greater One to come" amounts to seven. This is perhaps not accidental, see later p. 253 f.

²³³ Browne, *Tarikh*, 335.

²³⁴ Browne, *Persia*, 311. Goldziher in *Orientalische Religionen*, 128.

²³⁵ I, 168, 10 ff. Instead of 'Isa read *Abū 'Isa*.

that "Abū 'Īsa al-Iṣḥāhānī maintained that he was a prophet and that he was the messenger of the Messiah the Expected One. He also maintained that the Messiah²³⁶ had five messengers who appeared before him one after the other," and "that the Messiah is the most excellent of all the children of Adam and higher in station than the preceding prophets."²³⁷

The fragmentary character of our material unfortunately does not enable us to judge whether the adoption by Abū 'Īsa of the theory of Successive Incarnation involved the consequence of the deification of the Messiah, drawn by radical Shiism. But our doctrine with all its extravagant implications is almost without modifications reproduced in the teachings of the Sabbathians. According to the belief of the Dönmeh sect, "the soul of the Messiah which forms a part of the Deity, representing the Deity in the flesh, in corporeal life, clothes itself in every age in the body of a perfect man. . . . *This soul of the Messiah has also embodied itself in Jesus and Muhammed.* In Sabbathai Zevi it has found, as it were, its full expression."²³⁸

²³⁶ On the meaning of the word in this connection see later, p. 258 ff.

²³⁷ Shahr., *ibidem*.—The conception of Abū 'Īsa as the One true Prophet probably underlies the curious distinction which Abū'l-Faḍl as-Su'ūdī (ca. 1535), *Disputatio pro religione Mohammedanorum contra Christianos*, Leyden 1890, p. 189, draws between the 'Īsawiyya and the Iṣḥāhāniyya. The former are "the adherents of Abu 'Īsa al-Iṣḥāhānī who maintain that Jesus and Muhammed were prophets sent to their respective races only." The latter are "the adherents of Abū 'Īsa al-Iṣḥāhānī who maintain that Abū 'Īsa was a prophet sent *prior to Moses*," a view which, as Su'ūdī polemically points out, is at variance with the general Jewish belief that "there was no prophet prior to Moses, the latter being in their opinion the key of prophecy and the first-born of apostleship," and also contradicts the Torah "which expressly declares that God's commands were given to men prior to Abū 'Īsa." It would be interesting to know whether this distinction is an invention of Su'ūdī or whether it was, as seems more natural, derived from an older source.

²³⁸ Grätz, *Frank und die Frankisten*, 14.

Jacob Frank who, as was repeatedly stated before, had in his youth come in intimate contact with the Dönmeh, held essentially the same belief. He declared "that all great prophets and seers that have arisen in Israel from antiquity until now were all the same soul and the same spirit in different shapes, this soul transmigrating and changing its forms in the course of many years."²³⁹ David, Elijah, Jesus, Mohammed, Sabbathai Zevi, and his successors, among the latter specifically Berachiah (the son of Jacob Querido), whom the Sabbathians of Salonika worshiped as a divinity in prayer,²⁴⁰ and finally Frank himself were one and the same person in different bodily forms, and one and all were the same incarnation of the Deity.²⁴¹ Just as the Christian Bahais look upon 'Abbās Effendi as an incarnation of Christ, so could the adherents of Frank who lived among Christians consistently affirm their belief that Jesus was hidden in Frank.²⁴²

It would be futile to deny that the blasphemous heresies of these sectarians are intimately related to certain similar speculations of the Kabbalah²⁴³ of which these heretics were passionate admirers and believers. But when we remember the fact that, prior to the development of this phase of the Kabbalah, a doctrine of undoubtedly Mohammedan origin, belonging to the same set of ideas, became part and parcel of the nationalistic philosophy of Judah Halevi,²⁴⁴ we can

²³⁹ פראנק ועתו, p. 45.

²⁴⁰ *L. c.*, 97; Grätz, *Frank*, p. 14; compare the prayer *ib.*, Appendix VI, p. xxxiii.

²⁴¹ Grätz, X, 378.

²⁴² *Frank und die Frankisten*, 26.

²⁴³ Comp. Grätz, X, 209 f. and 463 ff.

²⁴⁴ Above, note 228.—An interesting example of the influence of the Ismā'iliyya (or Karmatian) doctrine on the Kabbalah is quoted by Ad. Frank, *La Kabbale*, Paris 1889, p. 32.

have but little doubt that at least in the peculiar formulation which this conception assumed at the hands of the Sabbathians the theory of Successive Incarnation was not altogether dependent on the Kabbalah and must have passed through the medium of the non-Jewish influences referred to above.

The effect of this heterodox Mohammedan dogma may perhaps extend to a specific detail. In spite of the fact that the number of Divine manifestations is unlimited and endless,²⁴⁵ a view which is preached with particular emphasis by the Bāb,²⁴⁶ the sum of the Divine incarnations is frequently fixed at seven, the old sacred figure. This number is already discernible in the Pseudo-Clementines²⁴⁷ and is possibly applicable to Mohammed.²⁴⁸ It occurs with astonishing frequency in the history of Shiitic sectarianism²⁴⁹ and forms the basis of the complicated dogmatic system of the Ismā'īliyya who are for this reason called *Sab'iyya* or Seveners.²⁵⁰ It is still represented in our own days in the teachings of the Druzes²⁵¹ and the Nuṣeiriyya,²⁵² partly also in those of the Babis.²⁵³

²⁴⁵ Above, note 176.

²⁴⁶ Above, note 182.

²⁴⁷ *Shiites*, II, 85 f.

²⁴⁸ Above, n. 178. Perhaps the same applies to Mohammed's contemporary Omayya b. Abī Ṣālt who was anxious to assume a prophetic rôle, *Shiites*, II, 28 n. 1.

²⁴⁹ Comp. *Shiites*, II, 89 f., 127.

²⁵⁰ See, e. g., Browne, *Persia*, 408 ff. On the same number in the doctrine of Bihāfarīd, comp. *ib.*, 310, and among the Ḥurūfīs *Textes persans relatifs à la secte des Houroufīs*, p. xviii.

²⁵¹ Comp. de Sacy, *Chrestomathie Arabe*², II, 250 ff.

²⁵² Dussaud, *Histoire et religion des Nuṣeiris*, 42 ff., 70 f., 74 f.

²⁵³ See note 232. Comp. also Andreas, *Die Babis in Persien*, p. 40.—'Abbās Effendi, the present head of the Bahais, speaks in one case (Some Answered Questions, translated by Laura Clifford Barnay, p. 189) of Abraham, Moses, Christ, Mohammed, the Bāb, Bahā'ullāh, in another (Myron H. Phelps, *Life and Teachings of Abbas Effendi*, New York and London 1903,

Perhaps it is not accidental that the two Jewish references to these periodic manifestations quoted above seem to imply the number seven. In the case of Frank this number easily suggests itself.²⁵⁴ Perhaps it is also applicable to the belief of Abū 'Īsa, recorded by Shahrastānī²⁵⁵ and vividly reminiscent of the five anti-Mohammedan dispensations assumed in Islam,²⁵⁶ that the Messiah was preceded by five apostles. For in as much as, according to the same author, Abū 'Īsa considered himself the forerunner of the Messiah,²⁵⁷ the sum of all the manifestations would amount to seven.

5. TAFWĪD

The unsurpassable gulf which Neo-Platonism created between God and the world necessitated the introduction of a mediating power, a Demiurge, such as found expression in the Logos doctrine of Philo and in the Christology of orthodox and heterodox Christianity. The same philosophic necessity prompted similar speculations in Jewish Mysticism of all ages.²⁵⁸ In orthodox Islam with its crude but healthy monotheism there was no room for such extravagant notions. The greater is the force with which they make their appearance in heterodox Islam. If the prophet or Imām was conceived as an incarnation of the Deity, there was

p. 127, similarly p. 254) of Moses, Zoroaster, Buddha, Christ, Mohammed, and Bahā'ullāh as the great divine manifestations of the past. In both cases the number amounts to six. If this number be not a mere coincidence, the quoted utterances may darkly hint at the possibility that 'Abbās Effendi himself is the seventh manifestation. Comp. later, note 277.

²⁵⁴ Above, p. 252.

²⁵⁵ Above p. 251.

²⁵⁶ Above, note 178.

²⁵⁷ See later, p. 261 and 268.

²⁵⁸ Comp. Ginzberg in *Jewish Encyclopedia* (Article "Cabbala"), III, 462, especially 464a.

nothing simpler than to follow the example of Christianity and identify the prophet with the Demiurge who rules the world on behalf of the unknowable, inconceivable Father.²⁵⁹ We do not refer here to the numerous instances in which mystics and impostors, on the basis of the doctrine of Successive Incarnation or in a fit of pantheistic ecstasy, believed or declared themselves to be divine. We have rather in view those cases in which a human being is unequivocally proclaimed to be a Creator or a Demiurge. A curious example of this Christian influence within Islam is the theory of Aḥmad b. Ḥā'it and Aḥmad b. Yānūs,²⁶⁰ the disciples of the famous Mu'tazilite philosopher Nazzām (ninth century)²⁶¹ "that the world had two creators: one who is eternal, and this is God, and the other one who is created and this is the Word of God, Jesus Christ."²⁶² Other sectarians, however, gave a distinct Mohammedan coloring to this anti-Mohammedan doctrine. They taught "that God created Muhammed and 'Alī and then turned over the matter (i. e. the management) of the world to them, so that it is they who create, sustain, bring to life, and put to death,"²⁶³ or, as another reliable authority²⁶⁴ formulates this theory, "that God created Muhammed and turned over the management to him, so that it is he who created the world, to the exclusion of God. Then Muhammed turned over the management of the world to 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib who is thus the third

²⁵⁹ From this point of view Mohammedan writers rightly compare the extravagant notions of the ultra-Shiites concerning 'Alī with those of the Christians concerning Christ, *Shiites*, II, 101.

²⁶⁰ See regarding the variations in the forms of their names *Shiites*, II, 10.

²⁶¹ *Ib.*, 58.

²⁶² *Ib.*, 90 f.

²⁶³ *Ib.*, 91, 16.

²⁶⁴ *Ib.*, 91, 19.

Demiurge."²⁰⁵ This doctrine was called *Tafwid* (i. e. "Turning over") and its adepts were designated as *Mufawwida*.²⁰⁶ The same heresy has been able to maintain itself down to the present day. For the catechism of the modern Nuṣeiriyya, in reply to the question, "Who created us?," gives the curt answer: "'Alī."²⁰⁷

While making full allowance for the undoubted influence of the Kabbalah with its speculations about the soul of the Messiah²⁰⁸ and its theories of an intermediary divine being,²⁰⁹ I am inclined to believe that the extreme formulation of this dogma in the case of Sabbathai Zevi and his followers is in some way connected with the extravagant doctrines of radical Shiism. The inveterate Sabbathian adventurer Michael Cardoso taught "that the God of Israel

²⁰⁵ In accordance with the same theory, the Rāwandīyya who attacked the Caliph Maṣṣūr in his palace (*Shiitic Elements*, II, 503) believed, "that their Lord, who provided them with food and drink, was Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr" (Ṭabarī, III, 129).—The Karaite Jepheth b. 'Alī (ca. 950) mentions among various, apparently Mohammedan, heresies also the view "that the creator of the world is no more alive, but created the world and then withdrew and disappeared" (Pinsker, לְקוּטִי, p. 26). I may mention in this connection that a number of Mohammedan heterodoxies are quoted by Hadassi in his אֲשַׁכֵּל הַכֶּפֶר, Alphabet צ"ו.

²⁰⁶ *Shiites*, II, 91, 19.

²⁰⁷ *Ib.*, II, 127, 11. Comp. 128, 2. Already Ibn Teimiyya (d. 1328), the famous Mohammedan theologian, attacks the Nuṣeiriyya, because they believe that "the creator of heaven and earth is 'Alī, the son of Abū Ṭālib, who is their god in heaven and their Imām on earth" (Dussaud, *Histoire et religion des Nuṣeiris*, 46). Their confession of faith which imitates the orthodox form reads: "I testify that there is no other God except 'Alī, the son of Abū Ṭālib" (*ib.*, 55). Mohammed was created by 'Alī, *ib.*, 59.

²⁰⁸ Comp. Grätz, X, 439.

²⁰⁹ Comp. Ginzberg in *Jew. Enc.*, III, 461 f. The designation of Metatron as קָטָן is ascribed by Kīrkīsānī (ed. Harkavy, 300, 9) to the Talmud and used by him as a point of attack against the Rabbanites. On the Mohammedan polemics against this conception see Schreiner, *ZDMG.*, XLII, 598.

is not the Cause of all Causes which is called the infinite (*En-Sof*) and Primal Cause, but it is necessary that there should be a second cause which should have end and limit and should possess a nature comprehensible to human beings."²⁷⁰ Sabbathai himself is said to have signed an epistle to his followers with the words; "I am the Lord your God, Sabbathai Zevi,"²⁷¹ and in a discourse delivered by him after his conversion in the presence of the Sultan he is said to have declared in a manner which is paralleled by similar notions within Islam²⁷² "that God was a beautiful youth bearing resemblance to himself."²⁷³

But a more striking application of the *Tafwid* doctrine is the belief, enunciated by Jacob Israel Duchan and repudiated even by rabid Sabbathians,²⁷⁴ "that the Holy One, blessed be He, had ascended on high and that Sabbathai Zevi went up in his place to become God"²⁷⁵ or, as it is put more tersely in another source, "that Sabbathai Zevi declared to be God and that the Holy One, blessed be He, withdrew from his world *and left the management of the world in his hand*."²⁷⁶

²⁷⁰ Grätz, X, 439.

²⁷¹ *Ib.*, 209; 433.

²⁷² Thus the Holy Spirit (or Gabriel), who appears to Mohammed in human form (Koran, 53, 8 ff.), approaches Mary as a perfect man (*ib.*, 19, 17). The Shiitic dogmatist Hishām b. al-Ḥakam conceived God as a human figure of the most proportionate size, *Shiites*, II, 67. Other parallels—they are hardly more than parallels—are not wanting.

²⁷³ "שהקב"ה הוא בחור אחד מפור דומה לו" Grätz, *l. c.*, 439. An allusion to it was found in Cant. 2, 9 דומה דודי לצבי (*ib.*).

²⁷⁴ Such as Cardoso, Grätz, *l. c.*, 455.

²⁷⁵ Grätz, 439: "שהקב"ה נסתלק לעיל ושבתי צבי עלה במקומו לאלוה" comp. p. 450: "שהקב"ה נתעלה וש"ץ עלה למקומו.

²⁷⁶ *Ib.*, p. 439: "שהקב"ה נתעלה בעולמו" שש"ץ אמר על עצמו שהוא אלהים שהקב"ה נתעלה בעולמו בידו (read מעולמו ומהניח כל הנהגת העולמות בידו).

It is impossible to assume that such extravagant teachings should have proceeded from the loins of Judaism, unless we assume some connection, be it open or subterranean, with the polytheistic and pantheistic notions of heterodox Islam, the influence of which we have already been able to discern in many other Jewish heresies.

6. PROPHET AND MESSIAH

The Gnostic doctrine of the successive incarnation of God in the One True Prophet had originally a purely theological character. It assumed a political tendency through the identification of the "Prophet" with the Messiah (the "Christ," the Mahdī, or the Imām) who is expected not only to represent in flesh the spiritual and incomprehensible Divine Being but also to fill the earth with justice and to bring back worldly power to those who have lost it. The Prophet *par excellence*, who represents the periodic manifestations of Divinity, is thus distinguished from and raised above the prophets commonly so-called, who, too, are inspired by God but who are neither charged with a political mission, nor do they as fully and immediately participate in the Divine essence as the Prophet-Messiah.²⁷⁷

This is probably the background of Abū 'Īsā's doctrine that the Messiah is superior to all prophets,²⁷⁸ while, with

²⁷⁷ In one of his expositions (*Some Answered Questions*, 188 f.), 'Abbās Effendi, the head of the Babis, expresses a similar idea by drawing a sharp line of distinction between these two classes of prophets. "The independent prophets are the lawgivers and the founders of a new cycle." "The other prophets are followers and promoters, for they are branches and not independent." The latter are like the moon which borrows its light. The former are like Abraham, Moses, Christ, Mohammed, the Bāb, Bahā'ullāh (comp. above, note 253). The latter are like Solomon, David, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel.

²⁷⁸ Above, p. 251.

the lower rating of the prophets, he was able to place the Rabbis on the level of prophecy.²⁷⁹

But more specifically the Hebrew term *nābī'* assumes the meaning of a forerunner or herald of the Messiah, who, probably under the influence of the rôle assigned to the prophet Elijah in Jewish and Christian Messianism,²⁸⁰ predicts and prepares his return. In this restricted sense of a lower grade of divinity and a subordinate political function the term *nābī'*, as contrasted with the title *Mashīḥ*, is occasionally found in the accounts of Jewish sectarians.

Thus David Reubeni in a conversation with a Kadi of Fez who believes in the approaching redemption of the Jews is addressed in the following manner: "The Jews of Fez and vicinity and even the Muhammedans ask what you are: '*a prophet or a Messiah?*'" ²⁸¹ In reply Reubeni emphatically denies that he is a prophet and claims to be a military commander and the son of King Solomon.²⁸²

The appearance of Sabbathai Zevi was the signal for an outburst of Messianic frenzy which found expression in a host of Messianic or prophetic pretenders. For, as Jacob Sasportas, the cool-headed witness of these events, expresses it, "the passion of the multitude prevailed upon their imagination and they fancied *the one to be a prophet, the other*

²⁷⁹ Kīrk., 311, 25 וְשִׁיר אָמַר אֶלְרַבָּאֲנִין וּפְכֻמָּהֶם גָּדָא חָתִי גְעֻלָּהֶם פִּי שְׁבִיחַ "He exalted the station of the Rabbis and respected them highly, so that he placed them on a level similar to that of the prophets."

²⁸⁰ Comp. Ginzberg, *Jewish Encyclopedia*, V, 126 f.; Friedmann, תנא דבי אליהו, introduction, p. 21 ff.

²⁸¹ Neubauer, *Mediaeval Jewish Chronicles*, II, 279: הַיְּהוּדִים אֲשֶׁר בַּפִּיץ וּסְבִיבוֹתֶיהָ וְגַם הַיִּשְׁמַעְאֵלִים הֵם אוֹמְרִים אֵיךְ אַתָּה נְבִיא אוֹ מֹשִׁיחַ.

²⁸² *Ibidem*.

to be a Messiah.”²⁸³ Nathan of Gaza, the famous impresario of Sabbathai Zevi, was generally designated as “the prophet,” i. e. the prophet of the Messiah.²⁸⁴

This peculiar transformation of the term *nabī* may very well have taken place in Judaism without foreign interference. But it is in any event interesting to observe a corresponding development in the meaning of the Mohammedan term *nabī*. Thus ‘Abdallah b. Sabā who regarded ‘Alī as the Messiah or, according to some authors, even as a divine incarnation,²⁸⁵ calls himself the *prophet* of ‘Alī.²⁸⁶ The revolutionary agitator Ishāk the Turk, who appeared in the eighth century in Central Asia,²⁸⁷ is called the *prophet* of Zoroaster who was, as he believed, to return as the Mahdī.²⁸⁸ The famous Ḥallāj who was originally one of the missionaries or “prophets” of the eighth Shiitic Imām ‘Alī ar-Riḍa²⁸⁹ was assisted, after he had manifested himself as God, by three *prophets*.²⁹⁰ All the numerous petty sectarians who arose in ‘Irāk in the eighth century were prophets in this sense, for they invariably supported the claim of one Mahdī or another.²⁹¹

Instead of *nabī*, we find in the same connection the expression *rasūl* “messenger, apostle,” not in the

²⁸³ כי ההמון תאותם הגבירה דמיונם ודמו היות זה נביא וזה: 4b, ציצית נובל; ואם יש תקוה לעתיד להיות זה נביא וזה משיח: 9b; compare also 56b, and elsewhere.

²⁸⁴ L. c., 9b, and elsewhere. In the same sense Cardoso (above, p. 256) declared himself a “prophet,” Grätz, X, 230.

²⁸⁵ AbS., I, 296 ff.

²⁸⁶ L. c., II, 15, n. 2.

²⁸⁷ Browne, Persia, 313 ff.

²⁸⁸ Nadīm, Fihrist, 344. Comp. above, note 180.

²⁸⁹ Browne, Persia, 429.

²⁹⁰ L. c., 431, 6.

²⁹¹ Comp. AbS., II, 15. The examples given there can be multiplied.

sense of *rasūl allāh*, as Mohammed is commonly styled, but rather signifying the *rasūl of the Messiah*.²⁹² In this particular meaning of the term we must understand the notice of Shahrastānī²⁹³ that “Abū ‘Īsa maintained *that he was a prophet* and that he was the *messenger (rasūl)* of the Messiah the Expected One.”²⁹⁴ He also maintained that the Messiah had five *messengers* who appeared before him, one after the other.”²⁹⁵ In a similar sense must be interpreted the “prophecy,” claimed by Yūdḡān, the successor of Abū ‘Īsa,²⁹⁶ and so must also be taken the words of Bīrūnī²⁹⁷ who informs us that the Jews expected the Messiah to appear in the year 1023, “so that many pseudo-prophets among their sects, such as ar-Rā‘ī,²⁹⁸ Abū ‘Īsa and others like them, pretended that they were his (i. e. the Messiah’s) messengers (in Arabic *rusul*) to them (i. e. their sects).”

7. THE DĀ‘Ī

The complicated character of the Messianic idea and the variety of Messianic forerunners, such as the prophet

²⁹² The Pseudo-Messiah of Yemen is called by Maimonides (Kobez, ed. Lichtenberg, II, 26, 4 where the British Museum MSS. differ somewhat) שלוחו של משיח. The same expression *l. c.*, 7a, second column, l. 6 from below. The modern Yemenite Pseudo-Messiah (*Shiitic Elements*, II, 513 f.) is often designated in exactly the same manner, מוסעות שלמה, p. 12, comp. 11 and 13.

²⁹³ I, 168.

²⁹⁴ *wa-za‘ama [Abū] ‘Īsa annahu nabīyyun wa-annahū rasūl al-masīḥ al-muntaẓar*. That Abū ‘Īsa claimed no more than prophecy is repeatedly asserted by Ẹırķisānī (ed. Harkavy), 284, 6, 311, 20; see note 296.

²⁹⁵ *wa-za‘ama anna li‘l-masīḥ ḥamsatan min ar-rusul ya‘tūna qablahu wāḥīdan ba‘da wāḥīdin*. Comp. above, p. 251.

²⁹⁶ Ẹırķ., 284, 14; 312, 16. In another passage, *ZfhB.*, III, 176 Ẹırķisānī says: “and others like Abū ‘Īsa al-Iṣbahānī who claimed prophecy, and just as Yūdḡān claimed *that he was the Messiah*.” Similarly (Hirschfeld, Arabic Chrestomathy, 121, 24): “Yūdḡān the Dā‘ī and his claim that he is the Messiah.” The latter statement contradicts his own words, ed. Harkavy, 312, 16. See later, note 307.

²⁹⁷ 15, 11.

²⁹⁸ Undoubtedly the title of Yūdḡān, see later p. 284 f.

Elijah, the Ephraimitic Messiah, the Antichrist, gave the Messianic impostors, as long as they were content with the subordinate position of a forerunner and did not aspire to the supreme post of the Messiah or Mahdī, a choice of rôles. But a peculiar coloring was given to the idea of the Messianic forerunner through the identification of the latter with the characteristically Persian figure of the Dā'ī, or propagandist, a figure which plays so tremendous a rôle in all the Mahdistic movements of Islam. No one who has studied the history of early Islam can, to quote but one example, withhold his admiration from the wonderful spirit of organization and discipline which characterizes the *da'wa* (propaganda) of the 'Abbasides and from the many *Dā'īs* representing it who often suffered death and torture in executing their mission. This type of Dā'ī has survived down to the present day in the missionaries of the Babis of whom such an authoritative student of Babism as Professor Edward G. Browne speaks in terms of profound respect and admiration.²⁰⁹

For our present purpose it is necessary to call special attention to the *political* significance of the Dā'ī which was exceedingly great. The head of the 'Abbaside propaganda Abū Muslim wielded such tremendous influence that it excited the jealousy of his sovereign and resulted in his assassination. Abū Muslim's influence became even more evident after his death when he was regarded as a divine incarnation by his adherents and when the desire to revenge him led to dangerous insurrections against the Caliphate. In the Karmatian propaganda the Chief Dā'īs, though ostensibly working in the interest of some Mahdī, were little

²⁰⁹ A Year amongst the Persians, 210 f., *JRAS.*, XXI, 497; Persia, 236, 395, 410 ff. Comp. also van Vloten, 48, Blochet *Le Messianisme dans l'hétérodoxie Musulmane*, 16.

less than the Mahdī himself and the title *Maṣṣūr* borne by them³⁰⁰ had a distinct Messianic connotation.³⁰¹ Some of the *Dā'īs* were even looked upon as Divine incarnations.³⁰² No wonder then if so many who began as *Dā'īs* soon realized their superiority over the Mahdīs for whom they worked and often set themselves up as such.

Perhaps these peculiar notions and conditions are reflected in the report of Shahrastānī about Abū 'Īsa and Yūdḡān. Both made their appearance in a land and in an age in which the *Dā'ī* was a familiar and at the same time a prominent figure wielding great political power. If we are to believe Shahrastānī,³⁰³ Abū 'Īsa, realizing his mission, went to the distant Banū Mūsa behind the "sand river"³⁰⁴ to

³⁰⁰ *Shiites*, II, 109, 27.

³⁰¹ *Ibidem*, note 2. Compare also *AbS.*, II, 30, n. 4.

³⁰² *Shiites*, I, 68 and footnotes. "Every human being, after having succeeded in reaching the degree of a Missionary, is able to raise himself to the rank of the Preexistent (the Mahdī) and to substitute him," Blochet, *l. c.*, 60.

³⁰³ I, 168.

³⁰⁴ The "sand river" is the Sambation, compare my remarks in *JQR.*, New Series, I, 256. The liberation of the Lost Tribes was considered an integral part of the Messianic redemption and the Messianic candidates had to live up to it. For this reason the Pseudo-Messiahs are often brought in connection with the Lost Tribes, particularly with the *Benē Mōshe* and the Sambation. The Messianic enthusiast Abraham Abulafia (d. ca. 1291) claimed, like Abū 'Īsa, to have penetrated to the Sambation (Grätz, VII, 192). David Reubeni's pretensions hinge on his connection with the Lost Tribes and the Benē Mōshe (Grätz, IX, 229). Among those who denied that Sabbathai Zevi was dead, there were many who maintained that he was hidden among the Benē Mōshe (מְעִשָּׂה טוֹבִיָּה, VI, 3, compare above, note 53). He was generally expected to proceed to the Benē Mōshe living on the Sambation and to marry the daughter of Moses, קֶצוֹר צִיַּת נֹבֵל, 4a, 37a, comp. Grätz, X, 198 and 457. The modern Yemenite Pseudo-Messiah was expected to attack Ṣan'ā with an army consisting of Gadites and Reubenites, אֶבְרָהָם, II, 151; אֶבְרָהָם תִּימָן, 37. Compare the utterances of this prophet with reference to the ten Tribes and the Benē Mōshe, אֶבְרָהָם, p. 6.—Undoubtedly under the influence of these Messianic conceptions a Mohammedan Pseudo-Messiah in Yemen is

preach to them after the manner of the Persian Dā'īs the word of the Lord. He regarded himself, at least in the beginning, merely as a forerunner of the Messiah, but he thought none the less highly of the dignity of his station. "And he maintained that the Messiah is the most excellent of the children of Adam and that he is superior in station to all the prophets that have gone by, and that he (himself) as his messenger was also the most excellent of all. He demanded faith in the Messiah *and he magnified the propaganda of the Dā'ī, maintaining that the Dā'ī, too, is the Messiah.*"³⁰⁵

In a similar manner Shahrastānī³⁰⁶ relates of Yūdḡān, who in all probability looked upon himself merely as the Dā'ī of Abū 'Īsa,³⁰⁷ in as much as the latter was believed to be alive,³⁰⁸ and was expected to return as the Messiah, that "among the things which are reported of him was the fact that he magnified the office of the Dā'ī."³⁰⁹

Shahrastānī's remarks are none too lucid and perhaps they ought not to be pressed too strongly. But if they are

brought in connection with the Banū Mūsa, Ibn al-Athīr, *Chronicon*, ed. Tornberg, VIII, 22.

³⁰⁵ *wa-za'ama anna'd-dā'iya aiḡan huwa'l-masīḡu* (Shahr., I, 168, 13 ff., comp. also line 10). MS. British Museum Add. 7250 puts more correctly *aiḡan* after *wa-za'ama*, so that the meaning is: "he *also* maintained that the Dā'ī was the Messiah."

³⁰⁶ 168, *ult.*

³⁰⁷ That he did not consider himself the Messiah is clear from Kırkīsānī's words (284, 13): "It is said that he (Yūdḡān) was a disciple of Abū 'Īsa Obadiah and also claimed prophecy. *His pupils* (variant: adherents), *however, maintain that he was the Messiah.*" The same is repeated 312, 16. The contradictory statement (above, note 296) can scarcely be correct.

³⁰⁸ Above, note 33.

³⁰⁹ Shahr. *wa-fīmā nuḡila 'anhū ta'ḡīm amr ad-dā'ī*. Yūdḡān is designated by Kırkīsānī as Dā'ī, above, note 296. This then need not be a misspelling for Rā'ī, see later, p. 285.

to convey any meaning, they can only be understood in the light of the Persian Shiitic propaganda.

8. SUCCESSION

In the course of the above expositions mention has already been made³¹⁰ of the contrast, based upon the conception of Raj'a and Docetism, between the Wākifiyya and Kīṭṭī'iyya, a contrast which invariably reveals itself after the death of a Mahdī. Two examples will suffice to illustrate the practical issue involved in this contrast. When Mūsa, the son of the sixth Shiitic Imām Ja'far as-Ṣādiq, died (about 800), there were many who doubted or denied that he was dead and who expected his return as the Mahdī. They were called *Wākifiyya* "the doubtful ones." Others, however, termed *Kīṭṭī'iyya* "the assertive ones," among them some of his intimate associates, transferred the dignity of Imām and Mahdī to his son 'Alī b. Mūsa.³¹¹ Again after the death of the eleventh Shiitic Imām al-Ḥasan al-'Askarī (d. 873), there were people, termed Wākifiyya, who doubted or denied the reality of his death and awaited his return as the Expected Mahdī.³¹² Others, however, styled Kīṭṭī'iyya, asserted that he was actually dead and accordingly transferred the Messianic claim to his baby son Mohammed b. al-Ḥasan,³¹³ the twelfth and last Imām and the acknowledged Expected One of present day Shiites, who are for this reason, in addition to their appellations as *Ithnā'ashariyya* (Twelvers) and Imāmiyya, also designated as *Kīṭṭī'iyya*.³¹⁴

³¹⁰ *Shiitic Elements*, II, 485.

³¹¹ *Comp. Shiites*, II, 51.

³¹² *Ib.*, 52.

³¹³ *Shiitic Elements*, II, 495 f.

³¹⁴ *Shiites*, II, 52, 15 ff.

An exact analogy to this theory and practice of Messianic succession is afforded by the history of the Sabbathian movement. When Sabbathai Zevi died, there were many Jewish Wāḳifiyya who doubted his death and, believing him to be hidden, continued to regard him as the Messiah and to expect his return.³¹⁵ They were, and still are, called the Izmirli, after Izmir (= Smyrna), the home-town of Sabbathai.³¹⁶ There were others, however, who, after the manner of the Kiṭṭi'iyya, asserted the reality of Sabbathai's death and accordingly transferred the Messianic dignity to Jacob, or Ya'qūb, Querido. They were called the Yakubli.³¹⁷ This does not preclude that when Querido died they, in turn, like their Mohammedan counterparts, denied his death and believed him to be hidden.³¹⁸

It is clear that the Wāḳifiyya, those who deny the Messiah's death and believe in his concealment and return, cannot consistently appoint a permanent successor to one who is but temporarily absent. They do however need and are consequently forced to appoint a temporary leader to take charge of the affairs of the faithful, pending the Messiah's appearance, in other words, a vice-gerent, a *Khalīfa*.³¹⁹ Thus when the famous Messiah of the Keisāniyya sect Mohammed b. al-Ḥanafīyya disappeared, his political agent Mukhtār, whose insurrection shook the

³¹⁵ Above, note 53 and elsewhere.

³¹⁶ *Shiitic Elements*, II, 494.

³¹⁷ *Ibidem*.

³¹⁸ *Ib.* 498.

³¹⁹ In a measure this idea is implied in the title *Khalīfa* (Caliph), the vice-gerent of Mohammed, comp. Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich*, 22 f.

young Caliphate in its foundation,³²⁰ proclaimed himself his *Khalīfa*.³²¹ The notorious Shiitic sectarian Abū 'l-Khaṭṭāb denied the death of the Imām Ja'far aṣ-Ṣāḍik and, pending his return, assumed the title and the functions of a *Khalīfa*.³²² A somewhat similar example is afforded by the history of modern Babism. The Bāb manifested himself in 1844,³²³ but he insisted that his manifestation was not final and was to be followed by that of a Greater One, whose advent he indefatigably proclaimed. Before his death, he appointed Subḥ-i-Ezel as the *Khalīfa*, the vice-gerent, of the new community, pending the appearance of the new manifestation.³²⁴ In 1866 Bahā'ullāh, one of the disciples of the Bāb and a half-brother of Subḥ-i-Ezel, revealed himself as the "Greater One" predicted by his master. A split immediately followed. The Babis were divided into two camps: the Bahais who acknowledged Bahā'ullāh as the Mahdī,—they now form the bulk of the sect,—and the Ezelis who denied that the Mahdī had appeared and who therefore continued to look upon Subḥ-i-Ezel as the vice-gerent of the community.³²⁵ The strife between the followers of the two brothers became so intense that the Turkish Government was forced to separate them, the Ezelis being

³²⁰ *Shiitic Elements*, II, 487.

³²¹ *Abs.*, II, 15.

³²² *Ibidem*. Similarly the Shiitic pseudo-prophet Abū Maṣṣūr (see note 353) claimed to be the *Khalīfa* of Mohammed al-Bāqir, the father of Ja'far aṣ-Ṣāḍik, Baḡdādī, 234, 12. The successors of Faḍl-allāh al-Ḥurūfī, who was believed to be hidden, are also designated as *Khalīfas*, *JRAS.*, 1907, 536, 540.

³²³ Above, note 173.

³²⁴ Browne in *JRAS.*, XXI, 505, 513; *Tarikh*, XVIII; Andreas, *Die Babis*, 48.

³²⁵ In 1908 Subḥ-i-Ezel was still living in Famagusta on the island of Cyprus, with a few followers, Browne in Hastings' *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, II, 303a.

removed to Cyprus and the Bahais to Acco, where their present head continued to reside till a short time ago.³²⁶

Such or similar speculations will probably have to be drawn upon to explain the succession of the Messianic claim from Abū 'Īsa to Yūdḡān, although the paucity of our material can justify nothing beyond vague conjectures. Abū 'Īsa, in this the sources unanimously agree, considered himself merely the precursor, or the Dā'ī, of the Messiah, which fact however did not prevent his followers from regarding him as the Messiah himself. When he died, a split was inevitable. There were those who, like the Wākifiyya, denied the reality of his death and, believing him to be hidden, expected his return.³²⁷ They were called the 'Īsawiyya.³²⁸ Among them was his disciple Yūdḡān who, assuming temporary charge over the faithful, declared to be his "prophet" or *Khalīfa*.³²⁹ There were others, however, who, like the Kitti'iyya, insisted that Abū 'Īsa was dead. They therefore regarded Yūdḡān as the Messiah and, when he died, they expected his own return. They were called the Yūdḡāniyya.³³⁰ Curiously enough, as in the case of the Babis, though the analogy is of course a mere coincidence, a migration and a geographical separation appears to have taken place. For it seems that the 'Īsawiyya, those who continued to expect Abū 'Īsa's return, left Ispahan and migrated to Damascus, where Kırķisānī, two centuries later, still found remnants of them to the number of twenty or

³²⁶ Browne, *ibidem*, and elsewhere.

³²⁷ Above, note 33.

³²⁸ Or Īsūniyya (Ibn Ḥazm and Kırķisānī), also Işfahaniyya, comp. *Shiitic Elements*, 203, n. 73.

³²⁹ Comp. above, p. 261 and 264.

³³⁰ Kırķ., 312, 16.

thirty souls,³⁸¹ while the Yūdḡāniyya seem to have remained in their old home.³⁸²

The careful reader may have observed that the examples derived from the history of Babism are not perfectly analogous to the other instances quoted, in as much as in Babism the belief in Docetism and in the concealment of the Mahdī seems to be entirely eliminated. The reason for this lies in the fact that the Raj'a doctrine which regulates the succession in other Shiitic sects, though adopted and emphatically preached by the Babis, is interpreted by them in a sense in which the original meaning is so thoroughly transformed that it closely approaches the doctrine of reincarnation and transmigration which officially they violently oppose.³⁸³ The comparatively recent change in the leader-

³⁸¹ Kīrk., 284, 11: **ובדמשק גמאעה מן אצחאבה יערפון באלעיסוניה** "In Damascus there are a number of his (Abū 'Isa's) adherents, known as the 'Isūniyya (var.: 'Isawiyya)"; 317, 5 **ואמא אצחאב אבי עיסי אל'אצפהאני** "As for the adherents of Abū 'Isa al-Iṣfahānī, those who have remained in Damascus alone are about twenty souls"; MS. British Museum Or. 2524, fol. 34a: **חתי לם יבק מנהם אלא שביה בעשרין או חלאתין נפסא בדמשק ולעל מנהם באצפהאן קומא** **איצא** "so that no one was left of them, except about twenty or thirty souls in Damascus. Perhaps a few of them can also be found in Ispahan." The latter statement in all probability refers to the Yūdḡāniyya as a subdivision of the 'Isawiyya (see next note). It is natural to assume that, when Abū 'Isa had been defeated and killed, his adherents, at least some of them, fled to Syria. That there were relations between Syria and Persia is shown by such names of Persian-Jewish sectarians as Ba'lbekki and Ramli.

³⁸² Kīrk., 317, 6: **ואמא אליודגאניה פמנהם נפר יסיר באצפהאן** "As for the Yūdḡāniyya, a few persons of them are still to be found in Ispahan." This is probably the reason why the 'Isawiyya are not designated as Iṣfahāniyya by Kīrkisānī. The 'Isawiyya evidently expected the manifestation of their prophet to take place in Damascus.

³⁸³ Browne, *Tarikh*, 335 ff., 357, and elsewhere. See also the expositions

ship of the sect affords a striking example of this transformation.

The Bāb was unselfish enough to insist that he was to be followed by a Greater One to Come. Buhā'ullāh revealed himself, and was accepted as such, by the Babis. Before his death, Bahā'ullāh appointed his eldest son 'Abbās Effendi to be his successor.³³⁴ 'Abbās who, to judge by the utterances and actions reported of him, strikes one as a personality of acute intelligence and commanding power advances no other claim beyond that of carrying out the mission of his father whom he regards as a divine manifestation and whom already in his life-time he used to address as Lord (= God).³³⁵ He is content to style as well as to consider himself 'Abd al-Bahā "the *servant* of Bahā ('ullāh)."³³⁶ This, however, does not prevent his followers from looking upon him in a less humble light. For there is no doubt that, in their eyes, he is gradually moving into the place, formerly occupied by his father, as an incarnation of Divinity. His sister, in relating his biography to an American lady is anxious to report of him the same miraculous characteristics as of his father.³³⁷ His daughters address him in the family circle sometimes as Father, sometimes as Lord, for "they recognize in him the ideal blending of attributes human and divine,"³³⁸ and his adherents already

of 'Abbās Effendi on the subject in *Some Answered Questions*, 318 ff. In the same way the Imāmiyya accept the Raj'a doctrine but emphatically reject the transmigration of souls, *Shiites*, II, 26 f. Comp. above, note 220.

³³⁴ Browne in Hastings' *Encyclopedia*, II, 304a. On the strife of 'Abbās Effendi with his brother, which even spread to America, see *ibidem*.

³³⁵ Hammond, *The Splendor of God*, 41. On other Divine appellations of Bahā'ullāh see Browne in Hastings' *Encyclopedia*, II, 306a.

³³⁶ Comp. Goldziher, *Vorlesungen*, 302, and others.

³³⁷ See later, note 374.

³³⁸ Hammond, *l. c.*, 40.

in his life-time raise him above the level of his father by maintaining that he was appointed by the latter "to inaugurate another larger presentation of the principle of Universal Peace and of the Divine Unity which the Bāb and Bahā'ullāh had preached and prayed for."³³⁹ "He inspires them so completely with that immanence that they are impelled to imitate him *in accepting the dictates of that divine being*,"³⁴⁰ and his American believers openly declare that he is a reincarnation of Jesus Christ.³⁴¹

We have expatiated on all these facts, because once more they find an analogy in the history of Sabbathianism. After Sabbathai's death the Sabbathians transferred their allegiance to Jacob Querido whom they now regarded as the true redeemer and as the full incarnation of the soul of the Messiah, apparently implying thereby that Sabbathai had been but an incomplete and preliminary manifestation of it.³⁴² When Querido died, the leadership of the sect was transferred to his son Berechiah who was in turn regarded as a divine incarnation and was worshiped in prayer by the Sabbathians.³⁴³

9. ANOINTMENT

It would be a futile task to attempt to penetrate into the dark recesses of the pseudo-Messianic consciousness which rather belongs to the domain of psychology or pathology. On the whole it will be found that the Messianic pretenders are more modest in their claim than their followers, and while the leader is satisfied to be the fore-

³³⁹ *Ibidem*.

³⁴⁰ *L. c.*, 43.

³⁴¹ Browne, Persia, 311. Goldziher in *Orientalische Religionen*, 128.

³⁴² Grätz, X, 305; 459 והאמינו שהוא משיח אמת.

³⁴³ *L. c.*, 306. See above, p. 252.

runner of the Messiah, the believers insist that he is the Messiah himself. Often, indeed, the pretender himself is in doubt as to the exact nature of his claim, which will be found to increase with the increase of his influence. It will hardly be possible to throw light into this dark domain and I have touched on the subject merely to show that this uncertainty of Messianic pretensions has colored the reports about our much quoted sectarian Abū 'Īsa.

The few existing data clearly suggest that he claimed to be a precursor or a messenger of the Messiah.³⁴⁴ At the same time, as Shahrastānī³⁴⁵ informs us, he maintained, or was said to maintain, that "God had spoken to him and had charged him to deliver the children of Israel from the ungodly nations and wicked rulers," and, as a result of this charge, he headed an armed uprising, a fact which is attested both by Kırķisānī and Shahrastānī.³⁴⁶ It is not far-fetched to assume with Graetz³⁴⁷ that, not being of Davidic stock,—a condition indispensable for a Messianic candidacy,—he contented himself with the rôle of the Ephraimitic Messiah,³⁴⁸ while his Jewish opponents, if we are to trust Maḳrīzī,³⁴⁹ looked upon him after his defeat as the Anti-

³⁴⁴ Above, p. 268.

³⁴⁵ I, 168, 12.

³⁴⁶ To these Maimonides might be added, *Shi'it Elements*, I, 206, n. 88. See, however, note 348.

³⁴⁷ V, 462.

³⁴⁸ Speaking of the Pseudo-Messiah of Ispahan, Maimonides maintains that he considered himself the Messiah (*Iggeret Teman*, in Kobez, II, 7a, second column, l. 1, **וְאִמָּר שֶׁהוּא מֶשִׁיחַ**). In the Arabic original Maimonides still more clearly emphasizes the fact that he was of Davidic origin. It can, however, be shown that Maimonides in this part of his account confused Abū 'Īsa with David Alroy, a confusion which has been taken over from Maimonides by Grätz.

³⁴⁹ See note 351.

christ, whose manifestation would take place in Ispahan.³⁵⁰ Be this as it may, the following notice preserved by Maḳrīzī seems to point to some such Messianic conception. "The Iṣbahāniyya," says Maḳrīzī³⁵¹ "are the adherents of Abū 'Īsa al-Iṣbahānī. He laid claim to prophecy and (he maintained) that he was lifted up to heaven, *fa-masaḥa ar-rabb 'alā ra'sihi* and that the Lord patted him on his head, also that he beheld Muhammed and believed in him. The Jews of Ispahan maintain that he is the Dajjāl (the Anti-christ) and that he will come forth from their region."

Curiously enough the identical story of a heavenly visit is reported of the Pseudo-Messiah Abū Maṣṣūr of Kufa, a younger contemporary of Abū 'Īsa.³⁵² Abū Maṣṣūr, who originally considered himself the "prophet" of the fifth Shiitic Imām Mohammed al-Bāḳir (d. 735), but after his death advanced his own candidacy as the Mahdī,³⁵³ maintained that "he was lifted up to heaven and beheld the object of his worship (i. e. God) who patted his head with his hand"³⁵⁴ and said to him; 'My child, descend and bring a message from Me.'³⁵⁵

³⁵⁰ That the Dajjāl (Antichrist) would proceed from Ispahan was also believed by Mohammedans, Bīrūnī, 211, Ibn Faḳīh, ed. de Goeje, 299, Muḳaddasī, 399. Schreiner (*ZDMG.*, XLII, 596) suggests that this belief arose from the fact that Ispahan was supposed to have been founded by Jews. From Muḳaddasī, *l. c.*, it would seem, however, that Ispahan was connected with the Antichrist because of its violent opposition to 'Alī. Another widespread conception locates the Antichrist at Lydda, Bīrūnī, *ibidem*, and many others.

³⁵¹ *Ḥiṭaṭ*, ed. Cairo, IV, 372.

³⁵² See *Shiites*, I, 62 and the sources quoted *ib.*, II, 89, 14 f.

³⁵³ *Ib.*, II, 95, 32. Comp. above, note 322.

³⁵⁴ Ibn Ḥazm, *Milal*, IV, 185 (= *Shiites*, I, 62, 7) *masaḥa ra'sahu biyadihi*, Shahr. 136 *fa-masaḥa bi-yadihi ra'sahu*, Baḡdādī 215, 1 and 234, 13 *masaḥa yadahu* (or *bi-yadihi*) '*alā ra'sihi*.'

³⁵⁵ Alluding to Koran 5, 71.

Of course, both in the case of Abū 'Īsa and Abū Mansūr the story was suggested by the *mī'rāj*, the "heavenly journey" of Mohammed, alluded to in the Koran.³⁵⁶ But apart from the desire of using Mohammed as a pattern, another tendency was undoubtedly in operation. In the case of Abū Maṣṣūr the motive seems clear: the story is to convey Abū Maṣṣūr's familiarity with the Almighty who, according to one source, even condescended to address our heresiarch in Persian, his native idiom.³⁵⁷ I have, however, the feeling that in the case of Abū 'Īsa some more solid claim is involved. *Masaḥa* in Arabic means generally "to touch, to rub, to pat,"³⁵⁸ but it also signifies "to anoint" and the national lexicographers explain properly the term *al-masīḥ* "Messiah" as *mamsūḥ bi'd-duhn* "anointed with oil."³⁵⁹ In the history of the Jewish Pseudo-Messiahs we often find that they insist on having been miraculously anointed and in this way fitted for their Messianic task.³⁶⁰

³⁵⁶ Sura 17, 1. According to Blochet in *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, XL (1899), p. 19 ff., the legend is of Persian origin. Mānī as well as Bihāfarīd claimed to have similarly ascended to heaven, Bīrūnī, 209 and 211.

³⁵⁷ *Shiites*, II, 90, 22.

³⁵⁸ In the sense "to touch" the Hebrew מָשַׁח is used by Hisdai Crescas in his *Or Adonai* (ed. Vienna), p. 48b, כְּשִׁיקְרָב אֵלָיו וּמִשְׁחוֹ וַיִּשַׁח בְּמִקּוֹם הַמִּשְׁחוֹשׁ. It is undoubtedly an Arabism.

³⁵⁹ *Lisān al-'arab*. s. v.

³⁶⁰ Already Justin Martyr (second century) in his *Dialogus cum Tryphone* (ch. viii) reports it as generally accepted that "Christ... has no power, until Elias come to anoint him," comp. Klausner, *Die messianischen Vorstellungen*, 62, n. 2. From the later history of Jewish Messianism the following examples, which no doubt can be considerably multiplied, present themselves. The Messianic enthusiast Abraham Abulafia (d. ca. 1291) pretended that, when in ecstasy, "he felt as if his whole body from head to foot had been anointed with anointing oil" (Bernfeld, דַּעַת אֱלֹהִים, p. 381). The Pseudo-Messiah Moses Botarel (about 1409) claimed that the prophet Elijah anointed him with holy oil, Grätz, VIII, 98, and *MGWJ.*, 1879, p. 80. Joseph Caro claims of Solomon Molcho דֹּאחַמְשָׁה מִמְשַׁח רַבּוֹת עֲלָאָה (Grätz, IX, 545). See also the curious picture representing the anointment of Sabbathai Zevi, *Jew. Enc.*, XI, 222.

It is therefore to be assumed that the words *fa-masaḥa 'alā ra'sihi* originally³⁶¹ meant to convey that God had poured holy oil on his head and by consecrating him as the *Mashīḥ*, "the Anointed one," empowered him to become the redeemer of Israel.³⁶²

IO. INSPIRATION

Prophecy, in accordance with the Gnostic theory, is the incarnation of the Divine essence in man. Hence the knowledge possessed by the prophet must be supernatural and free from human admixture. The Shiites have drawn the full consequences of this conception. The Imāms, as the incarnation of Divinity, are credited with the knowledge of "what is within the borders of the seven earths below and what is in the seven heavens above and what is on land and on sea,"³⁶³ and this knowledge is immediately derived from a Divine source, not conveyed by any human means of information or instruction. A Shiitic theologian gives the following explanation of the omniscience of the Imāms: "Their source is either a tradition which every one of them has received from his father, the latter from his own father and so on up to the Prophet, or it is Revelation and Inspiration. For this reason it has never been recorded of any of them that he has ever gone to a teacher, or studied under a master, or asked any questions."³⁶⁴

³⁶¹ Although subsequently *masaḥa* may have been taken by the Arabic authors, who reproduce Abū 'Isa's story, in its ordinary meaning "to touch" or "to pat." This meets the objection of Baron Rosen, *Ḳirḳisānī* (ed. Harkavy), Introduction, p. 265, n. 3.

³⁶² Already suggested by Harkavy, *ibidem*, and לקורות הכתות בישראל, p. 10.

³⁶³ *Shiites*, II, 105.

³⁶⁴ *L. c.*, 55.

It is in consequence of this conception which regards inspiration as the only true source of knowledge and is therefore bound to mistrust all knowledge transmitted through a human medium that Mohammed proudly designates himself as *nabī ummī* "an illiterate prophet"³⁶⁵ and otherwise boasts of his ignorance. Whether Mohammed was able to read and write is a mooted point often discussed by scholars,³⁶⁶ though it is a well-established dogma of Islam. But that he was sorely ignorant is admitted by all and this ignorance, instead of proving a drawback, was of effective assistance in establishing his claim as a prophet.

In modern Babism the same claim of ignorance is repeated with almost nauseating persistence. The missionaries and theologians of Babism are indefatigable in pointing out that the Bāb was *ummī* "illiterate,"³⁶⁷ that he was "an unlettered youth,"³⁶⁸ "not trained in the learning of the schools,"³⁶⁹ "untaught in the learning of men,"³⁷⁰ "that he had never studied in any school and had not acquired knowledge from any teacher."³⁷¹ The same claim is urged by 'Abbās Effendi in favor of his father Bahā'ullāh, the successor of the Bāb. "It is also evident that he has never studied or acquired this learning."³⁷² "Bahā'ullāh had never studied Arabic; he had not had a tutor or teacher nor had he entered a school."³⁷³ From the same motive the admirers

³⁶⁵ Koran 7, 156; comp. also 29, 47. *Ummī* (from *umma* "nation") shows exactly the same development in meaning as *ʾīl*.

³⁶⁶ See the material collected by Pautz in his *Muhammed's Lehre von der Offenbarung*, Leipzig 1898, p. 257 f.

³⁶⁷ Browne, *Tarikh*, 343.

³⁶⁸ *Idem* in *JRAS.*, XXI 903.

³⁶⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 884.

³⁷⁰ *Tarikh*, 31.

³⁷¹ Some Answered Questions, 30.

³⁷² *L. c.*, 34.

³⁷³ *L. c.*, 41.

of 'Abbās Effendi, the present head of the Bahais, make much of the fact that he had never applied himself to study and that "he had never been a day in a school."³⁷⁴

Of course, all this parading of the ignorance of the prophets is nothing but a foil for the glory and the truth of the writings revealed through them. Mohammed's claim of illiteracy has no other purpose than that of enhancing the uniqueness of his literary achievement. The Koran is the only miracle of which Mohammed professes to be capable. Every Koran verse is an *āya*, a sign or a miracle, and the inimitability of the Koran, not only as regards its contents but also as regards its Arabic diction, is constantly appealed to by Mohammed, and so it is by the Mohammedans down to the present day, as the principal argument for its divine origin.³⁷⁵

In heterodox Islam which rejects the finality of Mohammed's message the inimitable character of the Koran is, in consequence, repudiated. But the production of new revealed writings, which, in turn, pretend to be inimitable and which, in accordance with the anti-Arabic tendency of heterodox Islam, are not confined to the Arabic language, has remained the principal proof which the prophetic pretenders employ to substantiate their claim..

Thus Sālih, the prophet of the Berber tribe Baraġwāṭa in the extreme North-West of Africa, composed in the eighth century, in furtherance of his prophetic pretensions, a new Koran consisting of eighty sūras in the Berber language.³⁷⁶

³⁷⁴ Phelps, *Life and Teachings of 'Abbās Effendi*, p. 25 (in the name of 'Abbas' sister).

³⁷⁵ Comp. Schreiner in *ZDMG.*, XLII, 663 ff.

³⁷⁶ *Shiites*, II, 49.

Faḍl-ullāh, the founder of the Ḥurūfī sect, (d. 1393),³⁷⁷ composed the *Jawīdān*, a new Persian Koran, in which, as the Ḥurūfīs believe, the Koran as well as the previous revelations find their explanation and fulfilment.³⁷⁸

The greatest possible emphasis is laid on this fact in Babism. The principal argument which the Babis advance to prove the inspired character of Bāb's message is the sacred *Bayān* revealed through him.³⁷⁹ They triumphantly point to the fact that while, during the 1260 years which had elapsed since the revelation of the Koran, "none, however skilled in rhetoric and eloquence, had presumed even to make this attempt," an unlettered youth should suddenly have revealed these verses which were "incomparably superior to the Koran in point of eloquence and beauty so that it was impossible to take exception to them or deny them."³⁸⁰ When after the manifestation of Bahā'ullāh in 1866 the Babis split into two sections, both by the Bahais who acknowledged his claim and the Ezelis who rejected it "utmost stress was laid upon the verses (*āyāt*) being the essential sign and proof of a prophet and that the *Larwh-i-Nasīr* in which Behā announced his prophetic mission, and other writings of his, fulfilled the conditions which constituted 'verses,' among them 'knowledge unacquired by study.'³⁸¹

We are now sufficiently prepared to comprehend the full significance of the statement of Kīrkīsānī regarding Abū 'Īsā: "His miracle of legitimation in the eyes of his

³⁷⁷ Above, p. 249 f.

³⁷⁸ *Textes persans relatifs à la secte des Houroufis*, xvii.

³⁷⁹ The *Bayān* exists in three recensions, two in Arabic and one in Persian, Andreas, *Die Babis*, 40.

³⁸⁰ *Tarikh*, 41. Comp. also *JRAS.*, XXI, 917 and 925; *Some Answered Questions*, p. 27.

³⁸¹ Browne, *A Year amongst the Persians*, 515.

adherents consisted in the fact that, although, as they assert, he was by profession a tailor and, according to their assertion, *was ummī, illiterate, and not able to write or to read, he brought forth books and writings, without anyone having instructed him.*³⁸² The same statement Ẕirkīsānī repeats in a later passage:³⁸³ “We have already related in what has preceded that Abū ‘Īsa claimed prophecy and that his miracle of legitimation in the eyes of his adherents consisted in the fact that he was *ummī*, illiterate, without being able to write or to read and then brought forth books and writings and that this was only possible by means of prophecy.” In the special chapter which the same author³⁸⁴ devotes to the refutation of Abū ‘Īsa’s doctrine he reverts to the same claim which he cleverly endeavors to invalidate. “As to the miracle which they claim in that he had been *ummī*, illiterate, and then brought forth books and writings,—even if the matter had been as they mention, even then it might be possible that he (Abū ‘Īsa) had applied himself to it from the beginning of his cause and its very start and that he had (merely) simulated ignorance and illiteracy, in order to facilitate what he had in his mind.”

The same claim of ignorance meets us in later times in heterodox Jewish circles.

³⁸² Ẕirk., 284, 9: אנה כאן רגל לא כ'אטא וכו' פ'א יזעמו אמיא לא . יכתב ולא יקרא פאט'הר כתבא ומצאחפא (sic) מן גיר אן יעלמה אחד . This was misunderstood by Grätz, V, 173 f., who represents Abū ‘Īsa as being well-versed in Bible and Talmud and gifted with literary ability. Nor has Eppenstein, *ibidem*, 173, n. 3, who points out Grätz’s mistake, grasped the underlying conception of Ẕirkīsānī’s notice.

³⁸³ *Ib.*, 311, 20 ff.

³⁸⁴ MS. British Museum Or. 2524, fol. 34a.

The pseudo-prophet who appeared in the thirteenth century in the large community of Avila in Old Castille³⁸⁵ was credited with the same transformation. His admirers piously related "that he was ignorant from his childhood and was neither able to read or to write. An angel who used to appear to him in sleep, sometimes also in waking, endowed him with the faculty of composing a voluminous work, full of mystical content, under the title "Wonders of Wisdom" and a bulky commentary in addition to it."³⁸⁶ This fact created a tremendous sensation among his contemporaries.³⁸⁷

The pseudo-Messiah Moses Botarel, who appeared in Spain in the beginning of the fifteenth century, similarly laid claim to ignorance.³⁸⁸

It is probably from the same motive that Jacob Frank constantly harps on the fact that he is an ignoramus.³⁸⁹

The Messiah who appeared in Yemen in 1868 was, like his predecessor at the time of Maimonides, an ignorant fellow. But it is characteristic of the influence of the environment that he nevertheless considered it his duty to compose "verses" which strongly remind one of the old Arabic semi-prophetic rhyme-prose (the so-called *saj'*) and which his opponent the traveler Jacob Saphir very cleverly ridicules.³⁹⁰

³⁸⁵ Grätz, VII, 196 f.

³⁸⁶ *Ibidem*.

³⁸⁷ *Ibidem*, 197.

³⁸⁸ Grätz in *MGWJ.*, 1879, p. 80: At the age of twenty-five he did not know Hebrew, till Elijah suddenly illumined him.

³⁸⁹ פראנק ווערדט, 33, 179, 232.

³⁹⁰ וכמוהם כל דברי המכתב הזה לא ריח ולא, אגרת תימן השנית, p. 34; 56: טעם. ולא יופי ולא נועם. וכהולם פעם. ברק ורעם.

II. SOCIAL POSITION

As in all revolutionary upheavals, so in sectarian movements the first to respond are usually the lower classes, those that have nothing to lose and much to gain from the overthrow of the existing order of things. Shiism, being Messianic, was revolutionary in character. When transferred to Persia, it became the organized protest of the Persian nation not only against the political dominion of the Arabic conquerors but also against the religion represented by them.³⁹¹ While, however, the higher Persian classes, in the expectation of political and financial benefits, hastened to make their peace with the new masters,³⁹² the adherents of Shiism mainly recruited themselves from the lower classes which expected their salvation from the political and social revolution preached and prepared by Shiism.

This social contrast manifested itself very early in the great Shiitic uprising of Mukhtār who pretended to act on behalf of the expected Mahdī Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya.³⁹³ Mukhtār's main support came from the *Mawālī*, the emancipated slaves of Persian origin in Kufa. Their social position may be gauged from the fact that, not being able to afford regular arms, they had to content themselves with clubs and were for this reason nicknamed *Khashabiyya* "men of wood."³⁹⁴

This condition becomes even more evident when we call to our mind the professions of some of the Shiitic sectarians which, in accordance with oriental usage, are often indicated in their names. Thus we find among the Shiitic

³⁹¹ Comp. *Shiites*, Introduction, I, 2.

³⁹² Comp. van Vloten, 20.

³⁹³ *Shiitic Elements*, II, 487.

³⁹⁴ *Shiites*, II, 93 ff., particularly 94, 15 ff.

Pseudo-Messiahs Bazīg the weaver,³⁹⁸ the most despised profession in the East,³⁹⁹ and it is worthy of mention that one of the authors who record the existence of this sectarian³⁹⁷ sneeringly implies that the recognition of prophets of such low social standing is typical of Shiism.³⁹⁸ The 'Abbasid *Dā'ī* and "prophet" Khidāsh who was executed by the Omayyads in 736,³⁹⁹ was a potter.⁴⁰⁰ The famous general and sectarian Abū Muslim was a saddler.⁴⁰¹ The celebrated Pseudo-Messiah Muḳanna' was a fuller.⁴⁰² The great rebel and heresiarch Bābak was a shepherd.⁴⁰³ The famous Shiitic mystic Ḥallāj was, as his name indicates, a wool-carder.⁴⁰⁴ The Keisanitic champion and poet as-Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī was the object of ridicule, because his associate in doctrine was a cobbler.⁴⁰⁵

³⁹⁸ *Ib.*, I, 64, 6; II, 96, 9 ff.

³⁹⁹ *Ib.*, II, 96, 15 ff. On the odium attaching to the weaver trade see, in addition to the references given *l. c.*, Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich*, 146, n. 1, Barhebraeus, *Laughable Stories*, ed. Budge, No. 470 ff. and already Josephus, *Ant.*, XVIII, 9, 1 (the last two references were indicated to me by Professor Joseph Horovitz and Professor Louis Ginzberg).

³⁹⁷ Ibn Ḥazm (d. 1064), *Shiites*, I, 64, 7-8.

³⁹⁸ Very characteristic is the story told by Barhebraeus (*l. c.*, No. 471) of a weaver who wanted to become a prophet. "The people told him: 'Never has there been seen a prophet who was a weaver.' He, however, replied to them: 'Shepherds with all their simplicity have been employed as prophets, why should not weavers be fit for it?'" (Budge's translation misses the point).

³⁹⁹ *Shiites*, I, 64; II, 98.

⁴⁰⁰ van Vloten, 49.

⁴⁰¹ He was called Abu Muslim *as-Sarrāj*. The latter is correctly explained by Darmsteter, 40, and Browne, *Persia*, 236, as saddler. This is to be added to *Shiites*, II, 118, 9.

⁴⁰² *Shiites*, II, 120, 9.

⁴⁰³ Browne, *Persia*, 325.

⁴⁰⁴ See presently.

⁴⁰⁵ *Shiites*, I, 78, 2; II, 134, 31. As further examples may be quoted the ultra-Shiitic propagandists Abū Zakariyya al-*Khayyāf* (the tailor) and 'Alī an-Najjār (the carpenter), *Shiites*, II, 17, 9. From Shahr., 187, 12, it would seem that the famous heresiarch Bihāfarid was a *khawwāf* (shoemaker). But

It can be easily imagined that the low occupation of the sectarian leader or pseudo-prophet may frequently have proved inconvenient to his followers, the more so, since, in accordance with the oriental custom, the profession often forms part of the name. It is therefore not surprising that the attempt should have been made to put a more favorable construction on such uncomplimentary designations. We have a curious instance of this tendency in the case of Ḥallāj. It was apparently mortifying to the admirers of this famous mystic who was believed to be a divine incarnation and a revealer of sublime truths to have their great patron styled a *ḥallāj*, a wool-carder. Hence it was maintained "that the name *al-Ḥallāj* was metaphorical, and was given to him because he could read man's most secret thoughts, and extract from their hearts the kernel of their imaginings as the wool-carder separates the cotton-grains from the cotton."⁴⁰⁶ An interesting analogy is found in the case of the famous Mu'tazilite philosopher an-Nazzām, who was called by this name because he used to string pearls in the market of Baṣra (from *naẓama* "to string pearls"), whose name, however, was interpreted by his admirers to convey that he was able to string together prose and poetry.⁴⁰⁷

When we turn to Jewish sectarianism, we find substantially the same state of affairs. From the account of Kırkısānī we gain distinctly the impression, and occasionally

the correct reading is Khawāf, the name of a district in Nisabūr (comp. Houtsma, *WZKM.*, 1889, p. 30). Cureton's edition and Haarbrücker's translation, I, 283, *penuit.*, are to be corrected accordingly.

⁴⁰⁶ Browne, *Persia*, 433.

⁴⁰⁷ *Shiites*, II, 58, 12.

we are expressly informed,⁴⁰⁸ that the Jewish sectarians were people of low standing both socially and intellectually. We are, in consequence, not surprised to hear that the most important Jewish heresiarch of that period, Abū 'Īsa al-Iṣfahānī, was not only illiterate but by profession a tailor.⁴⁰⁹ On the same ground we are justified in assuming that, if his disciple and successor is designated as ar-Rā'ī,⁴¹⁰ he was purely and simply a shepherd. His designation by Hadassi,⁴¹¹ in the clumsy manner characteristic of that author, as רועה גמליך, which was unjustifiably taken to be sarcastic,⁴¹² would characterize him more exactly, if it be not a mere paraphrase of the Arabic word, as a camel-herd. The name *Ra'yāniyya* which is found in connection with

⁴⁰⁸ Comp. *Shiitic Elements*, I, 208. Of the followers of the sectarian Meswi (or Mēshūye) of 'Okbara (near Bagdad) Ḳirḳisānī makes the rather uncomplimentary remark that "there has never been seen among them a scholar or a thinker" (Ḳirḳ., 285, 18).

⁴⁰⁹ Above, note 372.—The modern Pseudo-Messiah in Yemen was very poor and engaged in a low profession. According to some (אגרת תימן השנית), p. 51, he was a tailor in skins (תופר עורות, "furrier?"). Others report that he was a potter (אבן ספיר, II, 149), or a cobbler (מסעות שלמה, 13). Of course, this low social position is characteristic of the Yemenite Jews in general.—Mordecai of Eistenstadt (about 1679) who had come in contact with the Sabbathians in the Orient set himself up as the Messiah, maintaining that Sabbathai Zevi had been his forerunner. Sabbathai could not bring about the redemption because he was rich, while the Messiah must needs be poor, Grätz, X, 303 f.

⁴¹⁰ Bīrūnī, 15, 11, comp. above, p. 261. A Pseudo-Messiah by the name ar-Rā'ī who in all likelihood was a Jew is mentioned by a Mohammedan author (*ZDMG.*, XX. 490) as having appeared in Tiberias. He is certainly not identical with ar-Rā'ī mentioned by Bīrūnī (as suggested by Sachau in his translation, p. 373), but he affords a good example of another shepherd who laid claim to prophecy.

⁴¹¹ נגדם דת יורגאן (יורגאן הוא הרועה : צו אשכל הכפר, alphabet רועה גמליך.

⁴¹² Harkavy in Grätz, V, 483; לקורות הכתות בישראל, p. 19.

this sect⁴¹³ would lead us to assume that Yūdḡān's by-name ar-Rā'ī was also pronounced Ra'yā or Ra'yān.⁴¹⁴ Perhaps the further conjecture may be ventured that this designation, pointing to a low social occupation, was annoying to his adherents and was therefore interpreted by them, in accordance with the biblical usage, which is occasionally found in Arabic,⁴¹⁵ in a metaphorical meaning as "the shepherd of the nation."⁴¹⁶

The above derivation of the name of Yūdḡān does not in any way militate against the assumption that he was at the same time a Dā'ī of Abu 'Īsa and, like his master, held that office in high esteem.⁴¹⁷ The attempt to explain Dā'ī as a scribal error for Rā'ī⁴¹⁸ is not convincing, for the importance accorded to the Dā'ī both by Abū 'Īsa and Yūdḡān is in perfect agreement with the conceptions of their age and environment.

⁴¹³ Baḡdādī "*al-'Īsawiyya wa'r-Ra'yāniyya*" (above, note 192). Goldziher's objections to this reading (*ZDMG.*, LXV, 361) which he regards as an error for "*Yūdḡāniyya*" are not justified. Comp. also next note.

⁴¹⁴ Just as we find *Mūshkā* and *Mūshkā'iyya*, alongside of *Mūshkān* and *Mūshkāniyya*, *Shiitic Elements*, I, 297, n. 93. Ra'yān looks like a Persian adaptation of Rā'ī, while Rā'yā looks Aramaic. Perhaps the reading רעיא (instead of רעיא, note 416) reflects the same form of the name.

⁴¹⁵ Thus the Caliph Yazīd, son of Mu'āwiya, is designated as "the *rā'ī* (shepherd) of all religious people," van Vloten, 36.

⁴¹⁶ *Ḳirk.*, 284, 12: וכאן בעד אבי עיסי יודגאן והו אלרי יסמוה אצחאבה רעיא: אי אנה רעיא אלמנה (var. רעיא) "After Abū 'Īsa came Yūdḡān, the same who is called by his adherents Rā'ī (shepherd, var. Ra'yā? see note 414), i. e. the Shepherd of the Nation."

⁴¹⁷ Above, p. 264.

⁴¹⁸ Harkavy is his introduction to *Ḳirkisānī*, p. 206, n. 1, in Grätz, V, 477, לקורות הכתות, 19.

12. JIHĀD

Jihād or the fight against unbelievers is one of the fundamental precepts of Islam. But apart from the duty of fighting unbelief outside the Mohammedan community, the faithful Muslim, in obedience to the Koran which frequently emphasizes "the command to do right and the prohibition to do wrong,"⁴¹⁹ is called upon to fight wrong and injustice wherever they meet him. As to the mode in which this fight ought to be carried on, the view shared by a variety of sections within orthodox Islam or bordering on it is that it is not sufficient to fight with the heart and the tongue (i. e. by conviction and persuasion), "but that appeal must be made to arms."⁴²⁰ The Shiites, however, are of the opinion that the use of arms is prohibited. "All the Rawāfiḍ."⁴²¹ so the dogmatist Ibn Ḥazm⁴²² informs us, hold to it, though they be killed... But they believe in it (in the prohibition of arms) only so long as the speaking Imām (= the Mahdī) does not come forth. When he does come forth, then the drawing of swords becomes obligatory." Peculiarly enough this view is quoted in an old source⁴²³ as one of the analogies between Shiism and Judaism. "The Jews say, There shall be no fighting for the sake of God, until the Messiah, the Expected One, goes forth⁴²⁴ and a herald from heaven proclaims (his arrival). The

⁴¹⁹ *al-amru bi'l-ma'rūf wa'n-nahy 'an'l-munkar*, Koran 3, 100, 106, 110, *et passim*.

⁴²⁰ *Shiites*, II, 93, 15.

⁴²¹ Nickname for Shiites.

⁴²² *Shiites*, II, 92, 33 ff.

⁴²³ In the anthology of the Spaniard Ibn 'Abdi Rabbihi (d. 940), comp. *Shiites*, II, 95, and *Shiitic Elements*, II, 497, note 78.

⁴²⁴ This is probably a reference to the wars with Gog and Magog and the Antichrist which play so prominent a part in the later Messianic speculations of Judaism.

Rāfida⁴²⁵ say, 'There is no fighting for the sake of Allah until the Mahdī goes forth and a herald⁴²⁶ descends from heaven.'

This theory which restricts all fighting to Mahdistic movements places every Mahdistic candidate in the necessity to rise in arms against the powers that be, without any regard to possible consequences, for his neglect to fight would immediately disqualify him as a Messianic candidate. From this logical but extremely dangerous conclusion the Shiites were saved by the adoption of the principle of *taḳīyya* "fear, precaution."⁴²⁷ This principle which acknowledges the claim of practical expediency became of utmost importance to Shiism which has always been in opposition to the existing order of things and has constantly knocked up against reality.⁴²⁸ It also offered a convenient solution to the perplexing question which must trouble the conscience of every faithful Shiite why the Mahdī who must

⁴²⁵ i. e., the Shiites, comp. note 421.

⁴²⁶ *sabab*, comp. *Shiites*, II, 95, n. 1.

⁴²⁷ Corresponding in substance to the Talmudic אונס. Compare on *taḳīyya* Goldziher, "Das Prinzip der *taḳīyya* im Islam," in *ZDMG.*, LX, 213 ff., particularly p. 217 ff., *idem*, *Vorlesungen*, 215, and on the application of the *taḳīyya* among modern Babis, *ib.*, 303.

⁴²⁸ One is vividly reminded of this Shiitic principle when one reads how some of the Sabbathians justified the apostasy of their Pseudo-Messiah (comp. above, note 207). "Moses, too, who lived at first with Pharaoh, used to change (i. e. to simulate) his action (משנה מעשיו), so also did Sabbathai change his actions" (Grätz, X, 457). When Abraham Abulafia (comp. above, note 360), in order to escape death, renounced his beliefs in the presence of the Pope, he claimed that God had endowed him with a "double mouth" (*ibidem*, VII, 195. Compare especially the Shiitic examples quoted by Goldziher, *ZDMG.*, LX, 224). A clear reflection of the *taḳīyya* principle is the 16th rule of the modern Sabbathians (the so-called Dönme) in Salonika which enjoins upon them "to observe carefully the customs of the Turks, whose eyes would be blinded in this way" and particularly to practice "everything which is visible to the eye" (Danon, in ספר השנה, I, 169).

be cognizant of all the wrong and injustice rampant in this world yet remains hidden and does not come forth to fill the earth with justice.⁴²⁰

While the saner elements within the Shī'a thus made peace with reality, there were radical sections which repudiated this pact with convenience and considered it their duty to fight, without any regard to their strength or their fate. *Fiat iustitia, pereat mundus* became their watchword. This view is in all likelihood the source of the terroristic Shiitic movements which played a considerable part in the eighth century in 'Irāq.⁴²⁰ One of these terrorists was Muġīra b. Sa'īd of Kufa.⁴²¹ He regarded Ja'far as-Ṣādiq, the sixth 'Alidic Imām, as the Mahdī.⁴²² When the decisive moment arrived, he rose in arms, accompanied by a small band of *mawālīs* (emancipated slaves), against the governor of Kufa. They were, as was to be expected, exterminated (in 737). Muġīra's "army" consisted altogether of twenty men.⁴²³ According to Ṭabarī,⁴²⁴ they were no more than seven men.

Perhaps some such notions may have prevailed among the Jewish sectarians who arose about the same time and in similar surroundings. Abū 'Īsa considered it his duty to fight the Mohammedan power and met his fate. His successor Yūdġān who otherwise upheld his views thought it wiser to keep his peace. One of the followers of Yūdġān

⁴²⁰ Goldziher, *Vorlesungen*, 218 f.

⁴²⁰ *Shiites*, I, 35, 12; 62 f.; II, 92 f. (= Jāhiz, *Kitāb al-ḥayawān*, ed. Cairo, II, 97), 153.

⁴²¹ *Shiites*, II, 79, 22 ff.

⁴²² *Ib.*, II, 107. *Ib.*, I, 60, 10 probably not Muġīra himself, but his successors are meant, comp. II, 87, 12 ff.

⁴²³ *Ib.*, II, 79, 36.

⁴²⁴ *Ib.*, line 37.

was a certain Mushkā or Mushkān.⁴⁸⁵ He adhered, as Shahrastānī⁴⁸⁶ informs us, "to the doctrine of Yūdḡān, with the exception that *he considered it obligatory to rise against his adversaries and to wage war against them*. He rose, *accompanied by nineteen men*, and was killed in the neighborhood of ẖumm."

Whether the reference to the number 19 which is the all important sacred number of the Babis⁴⁸⁷ and already figures as such in the ancient Persian religion,⁴⁸⁸ is a matter of intention or coincidence, is scarcely possible to determine.⁴⁸⁹

13. TABDĪL

It is well known that one of the principal arguments cited in support of Mohammed's claim to prophecy are the references to him in the older sacred writings, notably in the Bible and the Gospels. To meet the obvious objection that such references are missing, the theory of *tabdīl* ("alteration") is advanced which proclaims that the Bible and the Gospels had been wilfully altered and the passages predicting the advent of Mohammed maliciously done away with. Withal the Mohammedan theologians continue to point to a number of biblical passages which even in their

⁴⁸⁵ See on the variations of the name *Shiitic Elements*, I, 207, n. 93.

⁴⁸⁶ I, 169, 3 ff.

⁴⁸⁷ Browne, A Year amongst the Persians, 320; *JRAS.*, XXI, 499; *Tarikh*, 136; Hastings' *Encyclopedia*, II, 306b, and others.

⁴⁸⁸ Browne, Persia, 98. In Islam it is signalized already by Ibn 'Arabi (d. 1240), Browne, *Tarikh*, XIII.

⁴⁸⁹ It may be mentioned in this connection that the rebel and pseudo-prophet Mukhtār (*Shiitic Elements*, II, 487), after having been besieged in Kufa for four months, finally made a sally with *nineteen men* and was killed in 687, Wellhausen, *Religiös-politische Oppositionsparteien*, 86.

present form contain, in their opinion, an unmistakable allusion to Mohammed's mission and name.⁴⁴⁰

This slander against the pre-Mohammedan writings was soon enough visited upon orthodox Islam, against which the identical accusation was brought forward by Shiism. The Shiites are firmly convinced that the Koran originally contained an express reference to 'Alī as the appointed successor of Mohammed and they staunchly maintain that the divine book had been altered and interpolated by the companions of the Prophet who were hostile to 'Alī and that, in consequence, it cannot be relied upon in its present shape.⁴⁴¹ This view gained wide currency among the Shiitic sects and gave rise to extensive polemics between them and the orthodox.

Just as Mohammed claimed that he was foretold in the Bible and Gospels, so did the Shiitic pseudo-prophets endeavor to make themselves and their followers believe that their name and advent had been predicted in the Koran. Thus the Shiitic sectarian Abū Manṣūr (early eighth century), nicknamed *al-Kisf* (the "Fragment"), maintained that he was alluded to in the verse: "If they should see a fragment (*kisf*) of the sky falling down" (Koran 52, 44).⁴⁴² His contemporary and fellow-Shiite Bayān b. Sam'ān pointed to the verse: "This is an illustration (*bayān*) for mankind" (Koran 3, 132) as containing a reference to him.⁴⁴³ Similarly Aḥmad b. Yānūs, a Mu'tazilite heretic,

⁴⁴⁰ See on this question which figures so prominently in polemical literature Steinschneider, *Polemische und apologetische Literature*, 320 ff., Goldziher, *ZDMG.*, XXXII, 344 ff., and Schreiner, *ibidem*, XLII, 595; 599 ff.

⁴⁴¹ Compare *Shiites*, II, 61 f.

⁴⁴¹ Compare *Shiites*, II, 61 f.

⁴⁴² *Shiites*, I, 62.

⁴⁴³ *Ib.*, I, 61.

pretended to be a prophet,⁴⁴⁴ maintaining that he was alluded to in the verse: "Announcing an apostle who will come after me, whose name will be Aḥmad" (Koran 61, 6).⁴⁴⁵

As a reflection of the Mohammedan *tabdīl* theory we may perhaps regard the doctrine of the Jewish sectarian Ismā'il al-'Okbari (ninth century) who, according to Ḳirḳisānī, "maintained that there are things in the Bible which were not so as they are at present written down."⁴⁴⁶ The illustrations quoted by Ḳirḳisānī⁴⁴⁷ are all textual emendations which have no dogmatic significance. But it is clear that such an attitude towards the Bible is only possible on the assumption that human hands had tampered with it.

It is not impossible that the specimens of biblical criticism, which belong to the same period and point to a similar environment,⁴⁴⁸ were not inspired by the attempt to

⁴⁴⁴ *Ib.*, II, 11.

⁴⁴⁵ *Ib.*, II, 88, 30.

⁴⁴⁶ Ḳirk., 314, *ult.*: והו' אנה זעם אן פי אלכתאב אשיא לם תכן עלי מא הי אלמן מכחוב' אלעכברי אבטל אלכתב (read אלכתיב?) וקרי וזעם אן אלקרא' יגב אן תכון עלי מא "that Ismā'il al-'Okbari set aside the *ketīb* and *kerē*, maintaining that the reading ought to be in accordance with what is written," a view which was shared by some of the Karaites of Khorāsān (Ḳirk., 319, 2). Ḳirḳisānī himself points out the contradiction between this view and the one quoted in the text. Hadassi (alphabet צו, fol. 41, *ult.*) seems to suggest that Ismā'il considered both the *ketīb* and *kerē* false. The original meaning of this contention of Ismā'il probably was that the divergence between the *ketīb* and *kerē* was an indication that the Bible had been wilfully altered.

⁴⁴⁷ 315, 1 ff.

⁴⁴⁸ I refer to the "objections" of Chivi ha-Balchi (treated exhaustively by Poznański in *הגרין*, VII (1907), p. 112 ff.) and the Genizah fragment published by Schechter, *JQR.*, XIII, 345 ff. (see the literature quoted by Poznański, *l. c.*, 27 ff.).

invalidate the Bible as a whole but were rather meant to discredit its present textual form.⁴⁴⁹

The endeavors of Sabbathai Zevi and his followers to find allusions to his name in the Bible⁴⁵⁰ are scarcely analogous to the Mohammedan tendency referred to above. But a good parallel is afforded by the modern Pseudo-Messiah of Yemen who has been repeatedly mentioned in these expositions before. Orthodox though he was, he did not hesitate to preach that the Bible contained mistakes and misreadings.⁴⁵¹ This theory enabled Shukr al Kuheil, who was only half-learned and, as it seems, half-witted,⁴⁵² to find allusions to his name and appearance in the Bible. He had the boldness to declare that in the verse Isai. 45, 1 ("Thus saith the Lord unto His anointed one, to Cyrus") Cyrus (כורש) was an error for Shukr (שוכר).⁴⁵³ In the Messianic passage Micah 5, 1⁴⁵⁴ he read, instead of מקדם ("his goings forth shall be from of old, or from the East"), מצנעא ("his goings forth shall be from Ṣan'ā"). In Gen. 10, 30, he

⁴⁴⁹ A similar view with regard to Chivi is expressed by Poznański, *l. c.* (reprint), p. 18.

⁴⁵⁰ Sabbathai's second name צבי was supposed to be the abbreviation of צדיק באמונתו יהיה (Habak 2, 4) and this was taken as a proof that his advent was predicted by that prophet, ציצת נובל צבי, 10a, 13a, 17b, 18b, 33a, etc.

⁴⁵¹ ומלכד זה אפילו ספרי נביאים שבידינו יש בהם: אגרת תימן השנית 36. אגרת תימן השנית 36. מן הכלכל והשגיאות. He also used to correct the Zohar, *ibidem* (in a letter from Ṣan'ā).

⁴⁵² אך הוא חסר דעת קצת כידוע לכל: אגרת 32 (in a letter from San'ā): באי שער עירי.

⁴⁵³ אגרת 36 and אבן ספיר II, 151.

⁴⁵⁴ אגרת 23 (in a letter of the Messiah himself). Shukr quotes incorrectly מקדם יהיו תוצאותיו but he has undoubtedly our passage in mind.

substituted for הר הקדם the Arabic name of the local mountain גבל נקם.⁴⁵⁵

14. PROHIBITION OF MEAT

When after the destruction of the Second Temple certain ascetically inclined people proposed to forbid the use of meat and wine, because they had been offered on the altar which now lay in ruins, they were checked by the judicious R. Joshua ben Hananiah who pointed out to them that by the same analogy they would have to renounce many other eatables indispensable for life.⁴⁵⁶ This tendency, which was thus suppressed in talmudic Judaism, asserted itself, like many other austerities of the law disposed of by the Rabbis, in Jewish sectarianism,⁴⁵⁷ notably in Karaism. Already Anan forbade the eating of meat in the exile⁴⁵⁸ and he was followed in this prohibition by later Karaite author-

⁴⁵⁵ *Ibidem*. The latter reading is probably meant more in the nature of an identification than of an emendation. The places mentioned in that biblical passage were located in Southern Arabia. Uzal (verse 27) is interpreted already by Saadia as an equivalent for Ṣan'a (compare *AbS.*, II, 25, n. 2).

⁴⁵⁶ *Tosefta Soṭah*, end; b. *Baba batra* 60b.

⁴⁵⁷ Already the Dositheans refrained from the use of meat, Krauss in *Jew. Enc.*, IV, 643b. Benjamin of Tudela (*Itinerary*, ed. Adler, *JQR.*, XVII, 763) mentions "mourners of Zion" among the Jews of Arabia (to be distinguished from the אבלי ציון known from Karaitic literature, comp. Marx in *ZfHB.*, XIV, 138) who refrained from meat and wine.

⁴⁵⁸ אבתרא בתחרים אללחם פי אלגאליה ראם אלגאלות ענן ותאבעה עלי דלך
בנימין ואסמעיל אלעכברי ודניאל אלקומסי וגמאעה מן קראיי הדא אלעצר
"The first to forbid meat in exile was the Exilarch Anan, and he was followed in this by Benjamin (an-Nahāwandi), Ismā'il al-'Okbari and Daniel al-Ḳūmisī as well as by a large section of Karaites of this generation" (Ḳirḳisānī, quoted from a MS. by Harkavy in the Russian-Jewish monthly *Woshkod*, February 1898, p. 9, n. 3). On the prohibition of meat by Anan see also Harkavy, *Studien und Mittheilungen*, VIII, 4, 141, 148, and 193.

ities,⁴⁵⁹ even by those who, like Ismā'īl al-'Okbari, otherwise violently opposed him.⁴⁶⁰ This restriction, together with the prohibition of wine,⁴⁶¹ became particularly characteristic of the Karaite ascetics who settled in the Holy Land and formed the community of the so-called "Abele Zion."⁴⁶² In the time of ẖirkisānī, as we learn from his own words,⁴⁶³ the bulk of Karaites refrained from eating meat, and the wide currency of this restriction may perhaps be best inferred from the exceptions quoted by the same author who circumstantially relates that one of the Karaitic sectarians had composed several pamphlets to prove that meat was permissible⁴⁶⁴ and that there were Karaites who "considered permissible the eating of the flesh of sheep and cattle in the exile."⁴⁶⁵

It would lead us too far afield to inquire into the motives underlying this restriction. They were probably manifold, springing partly from tendencies of asceticism which was considered meritorious as long as the Jews were banished from their land, partly from a literal interpretation of the verse Levit. 17, 3 which forbids the slaughter of animals outside the camp, or from the conception, already voiced in the presence of Rabbi Joshua ben Hananiah, which regards the secular use of the animals or substances formerly sacrificed on the holy altar as an act of irreverence and

⁴⁵⁹ See previous note.

⁴⁶⁰ Comp. ẖirk., 284, 27; 315, 12.

⁴⁶¹ Anan also forbade the drinking of wine in the exile, Harkavy, *Studien*, 4, 21.

⁴⁶² Grätz, V, 269; 507 f.

⁴⁶³ Above, note 458.

⁴⁶⁴ ẖirk., 315, 22.

⁴⁶⁵ *Ib.*, 318, 18.

impiety. Be the motive whatever it may, the prohibition of meat was, as its formulation clearly indicates,⁴⁶⁶ confined to the state of the Jews in the dispersion. Nor was it prompted by any vegetarian or humanitarian considerations. For the prohibition of meat by the Karaites was by no means absolute. Anan allowed the flesh of the deer⁴⁶⁷ and that of the pigeon and turtle-dove among the birds,⁴⁶⁸ while the later Karaites distinctly confine the prohibition to the flesh of sheep and cattle.⁴⁶⁹

The same prohibition of meat and wine is reported of the Jewish sectarians Abū 'Īsa and Yūdḡān.⁴⁷⁰ This spirit of self-abnegation which was regarded as the only attitude befitting the unfortunate condition of the Jews in the exile found a particularly favorable soil in these sectarian circles which believed in the approaching Messianic redemption and partly endeavored to bring it about by the force of arms. The Yūdḡāniyya particularly were characterized by ascetic tendencies and were given, as both Kīrkīsānī and Shahrastānī inform us, to much praying and fasting.⁴⁷¹ The same disparaging attitude towards the exile reveals itself in another doctrine, preached by Yūdḡān and shared by some Karaites, "that the sabbaths and festivals

⁴⁶⁶ פִּי אֵלֶּנְאֵלִיָּה "in exile," above, n. 458, also Kīrk., 318, 18, and often by later authorities.

⁴⁶⁷ Harkavy in *Jew. Enc.* (article "Anan"), I, 555a. Harkavy does not indicate his source. See also next note.

⁴⁶⁸ Harkavy, *Studien*, 67; 155, comp. 188. On the meat of the cock, *ib.*, 145, n. 5, 154, 156, n. 5. Elsewhere (Grätz, V, 477) Harkavy formulates Anan's prohibition with a slight difference: "Vom Fleische gestattete er bloss Geflügel, mit Ausnahme der Hühner, und den Hirsch."

⁴⁶⁹ Kīrk., 318, 18, and the passages enumerated in note 458.

⁴⁷⁰ Kīrk., 311, 24; 312, 17. Shahr., I, 168, *ult.* only of Yūdḡān.

⁴⁷¹ Kīrk., *ib.*, וְיִסְתַּעֲמְלוּן אֶלְעֲלֵאָהּ וְאֶלְצֹום כְּתִירָא ; Shahr., *ib.*, *yaḥuttu* 'alz-zuhdi wa-takīrī' ṣ-ṣalāti.

are no more valid in this age and are (to be observed) merely as a recollection."⁴⁷²

While the prohibition of meat by these sectarians is thus fully in accord with widely current Jewish tendencies, there is something in the formulation of this prohibition, as reproduced by Shahrastānī, which cannot possibly be ascribed to these influences. For, according to this author, Abū 'Īsā "prohibited in his book"⁴⁷³ all slaughtered animals and he forbade the eating of any creature endowed with a living spirit *unconditionally, be it a bird or an animal*.⁴⁷⁴ The contrast to the Karaite practices discussed above is palpable. The complete prohibition of birds differs essentially from the Karaitic custom and the motive underlying this prohibition seems essentially different as well: it is neither asceticism nor the exile, but the objection to the destruction of life. I am therefore inclined to assume that, in addition to Jewish influences, Abū 'Īsā was swayed in his prohibition by foreign non-Jewish conceptions.

I believe that the source of Abū 'Īsā's prohibition is to be found in the doctrines and practices of Manichæism and the sects emanating from it, whose influence on Jewish sectarianism has already been proved by other instances. The prohibition of meat and wine is a characteristic feature of Manichæism. Already before the birth of Mānī his father Futtak was repeatedly warned by a heavenly voice

⁴⁷² Kırķ., 312, 18: ויזעמון אן אלמסבאת ואלאעניאר סאקמֶה פִי הָא אֶלְעֶצֶר. 'ואנמא הי דְכֵר, The Shadgāniyya, a sect closely related to the Yūdḡāniyya, held the same opinion, Pinsker, לְקוּטִי, 26.

⁴⁷³ This is apparently one of the revealed books which he produced, after the manner of Mohammedan sectarians, in spite of his ignorance (comp. above, note 382).

⁴⁷⁴ Shahr., I, 168: *wa-ḥarrama fī kitābihi' d-dābā'iḥa kullaha wa-nahā 'an akli dī rūḥin 'alā'liḥlāḳi ṭairan kāna au bahīmatan.*

to refrain from meat and wine⁴⁷⁵ and the same restriction is one of the essential conditions for admission into the Manichæan community.⁴⁷⁶ The Manichæans, as Ibn Ḥazm tersely remarks, "do not believe in (the use of) slaughtered animals."⁴⁷⁷ The motive is supplied by Bīrūnī who relates that Mānī "forbade to slaughter living creatures or to cause them pain."⁴⁷⁸ Mazdak, who is dogmatically a lineal descendant of Mānī, was prompted by the same motive when he forbade the slaughtering of animals until they died a natural death.⁴⁷⁹ The heresiarch Bihāfarīd,⁴⁸⁰ a contemporary of Abū 'Īsa, who seems to have been largely influenced by Manichæism and Mazdakism, prohibited, in contradistinction to Mazdak, the flesh of dead animals, but that he was none the less actuated by the same tendency is shown by the fact that he allowed the slaughtering of small cattle when they were enfeebled.⁴⁸¹ apparently believing that to kill them in this state involved no cruelty to them but charity.⁴⁸²

It is in doctrines like these which were undoubtedly in vogue in the age and in the environment of Abū 'Īsa that we have to look for an explanation of his sweeping prohibition of the destruction of life which is both in its extent

⁴⁷⁵ Flügel, *Mani*, 83. According to the old Persian conception which is still voiced by Firdausī in the tenth century, it was the Devil who beguiled the people "from the primitive and innocent vegetarianism supposed to have hitherto prevailed into the eating of animal food" (Browne, *Persia*, 115).

⁴⁷⁶ Flügel, *l. c.*, 95, 1.

⁴⁷⁷ *Milal wa'n-niḥal*, I, 36, 14: *wa-hum lā yarauna 'd-dabā'iḥa*, the same expression as used by Shahrastānī (above, note 474) of Abū 'Īsa.

⁴⁷⁸ 207, 21.

⁴⁷⁹ Bīrūnī, 209, 16. This motive would meet the difficulty pointed out by Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Araber und Perser*, 460.

⁴⁸⁰ *Comp. Shiitic Elements*, II, 500.

⁴⁸¹ Bīrūnī, 211; Shahr., 187..

⁴⁸² In addition Bihāfarīd, just like Mānī, forbade the drinking of wine, *ibidem*.

and motive different from similar practices current in Jewish sectarian circles.

Perhaps this may also throw some light on the remark of Kīrkisānī: "He (Abū 'Īsa) prohibited meat and wine, not on the basis of Scripture but because he maintained that God had commanded him to do this *through prophecy*."⁴⁸³ Anan, who is designated by Kīrkisānī as the first who forbade the eating of meat,⁴⁸⁴ tried to deduce this prohibition from the Bible.⁴⁸⁵ Abū 'Īsa, however, was conscious of the fact that this prohibition was an innovation of his own and had no source in the similar practices current in certain Jewish circles hitherto.⁴⁸⁶

15. NUMBER OF PRAYERS

According to Shahrastānī,⁴⁸⁷ Abū 'Īsa instituted *ten* daily prayers and he also specified the time at which they should be recited. Kīrkisānī, however, reports that he instituted *seven* daily prayers, in accordance with the Psalm verse (119, 164): "Seven times a day do I praise Thee because of thy righteous judgments."⁴⁸⁸ It is to be assumed

⁴⁸³ 311, 24: וחרם אללהם ואלשראב לא מן אלכתאב כל באנה זעם אן אללה. אמרה דלך באלנבוה. According to Hadassi (Alphabet צו), he adopted the prohibition of meat and wine from the Rechabites, but this would only apply to meat.

⁴⁸⁴ Above, note 458.

⁴⁸⁵ See Harkavy, *Studien und Mitteilungen*, VIII, 193 f. The same applies to his prohibition of wine. For the later Karaites comp. Grätz, V, 508.

⁴⁸⁶ Whether Abū 'Īsa's prohibition of wine which is characteristic of Mānī and Bihāfarīd is to be ascribed to these influences or to the general tendency observable among Karaites is difficult to determine. It certainly was not suggested by the precept of orthodox Islam which in Persia more than elsewhere was and still is very frequently violated.

⁴⁸⁷ I, 168, 16.

⁴⁸⁸ 311, 23. Similarly Hadassi.

a priori that the smaller number is the correct one. Now while it may be possible that Abū 'Īsa justified the new number of prayers by the Psalm verse, it is little likely that he derived it from it, particularly when we remember that, as Ẹırķisānī further informs us, he also retained the regular prayers of the Jews.⁴⁸⁹ We have already had repeated occasion to point to the extraordinary prominence accorded to the number seven in heterodox Mohammedan circles whose influence on Abū 'Īsa has been traced above. It is no wonder therefore that it should also have influenced the number of prayers. Thus Mānī is said to have instituted seven prayers.⁴⁹⁰ Of still greater importance is the fact that the contemporary of Abū 'Īsa, the Persian Bihāfarīd, who also in this instance proves himself a follower of Manichæism and Mazdakism—in the latter the seven, together with the twelve, looms most prominently as a sacred number—,⁴⁹¹ established *seven* prayers, the character of which is thus specified by Bīrūnī:⁴⁹² “one in praise of the one God, one relating to death, one relating to the Resurrection and Last Judgment, one relating to those in heaven and hell and what is prepared for them, and one in praise of the people of Paradise.” It needs no great stretch of imagination to assume that the example of this or a similar sectarian is responsible for the new number of prayers instituted by Abū 'Īsa. In the character of the prayers established by Bihāfarīd there is nothing which a professing Jew could not with a clear conscience adopt. They were, to judge by the description of Bīrūnī, more in the nature of supplications or praises than a collection of liturgies, as in the case of the

⁴⁸⁹ 311, 26.

⁴⁹⁰ Flügel, *Mani*, 41. See later, note 494.

⁴⁹¹ Comp. Shahr, 193.

⁴⁹² P. 210. Sachau's translation 193.

Jewish or Mohammedan ritual, and their content is in striking harmony with the Psalm word by which Abū 'Īsā *a posteriori* justified them. The character of these prayers as short individual eulogies also makes us understand why they did not replace the regular *Shma'* and *Shmōne 'Esrē* which, as Kīrkisānī tells us, he was commanded by God to retain, "according to the order of the Rabbanites."⁴⁹³ In the light of these facts, we are also able to explain the discrepant statement of Shahrastānī who speaks of *ten* prayers. The ten prayers of Abū 'Īsā consisted of the seven special prayers suggested to him by heterodox Islam and the three regular prayers retained from the Jewish liturgy.⁴⁹⁴

⁴⁹³ 311, 26.

⁴⁹⁴ Perhaps a similar explanation applies to the Manichæan prayers. According to Nadīm's *Fihrist* (Text: Flügel, *Mani*. 64, translation, *ib.* 96), Mānī instituted four *or* seven prayers. Of these Nadīm only deals with the four, describing their contents and the times of their *daily* recitation (comp. Flügel, 303). Shahrastānī only knows of four (*ib.*). Perhaps it may be conjectured that the four prayers were conceived as regular daily prayers, while the seven prayers were, after the manner of those instituted by Bihāfarīd, eulogies to be recited on special occasions. This would remove the difficulty discussed by Flügel (*l. c.*, 311).